
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Land of the Unfree: Legal Limitations on
Liberty in Pre-Revolutionary America

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Maryland Press Reaction to the Roose-
velt-Tydings Confrontation

Philip A. Grant, Jr.



"Seeing the old Year Out-Watch Night," *Harper's Weekly*, 1861.

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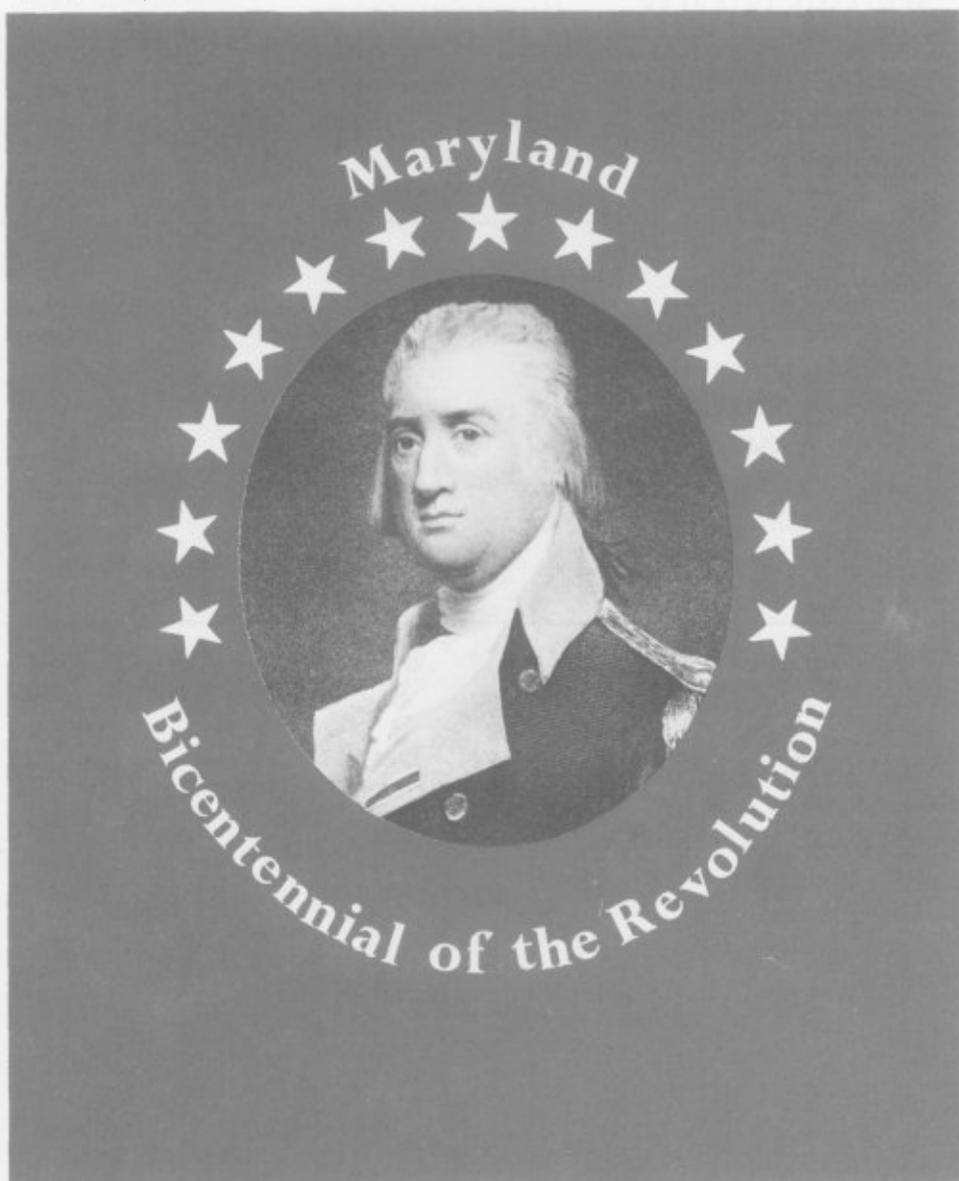
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Samuel Smith, 1752-1839.



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

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Land of The Unfree: Legal Limitations on Liberty in Pre-Revolutionary America

LINDA GRANT DE PAUW

THE FORTUNE THAT Thomas Jefferson pledged with his life and sacred honor in support of the declaration that all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, included, in the summer of 1776, almost two hundred slaves.¹ The incongruity of a slave-owning people basing their Revolution on such exalted doctrines did not escape remark by contemporaries any more than it has escaped notice by historians.² "How is it" sneered Samuel Johnson, "that we hear the loudest *yelps* for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"³ The Loyalist Thomas Hutchinson dryly observed that there seemed to be some discrepancy between the declaration that all men were equal and a practice that deprived "more than a hundred thousand Africans of their rights to liberty."⁴

¹ William Cohen, "Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Slavery," *Journal of American History*, LVI (1969), pp. 503, 506, 509n.

² David Brion Davis in his prize winning *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, 1966) begins his study by defining the problem in terms of this inconsistency.

³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ *Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia in a Letter to a Noble Lord* (London, 1776).

Even those Englishmen who sympathized with the American cause were repelled by the paradox. "If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature," Thomas Day commented, "it is an American patriot signing resolutions of independence with the one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves."⁵ And the patriots themselves were not insensitive to it. "I have sometimes been ready to think," Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, "that the passion for liberty cannot be equally strong in the breasts of those who have been accustomed to deprive their fellow creatures of theirs."⁶ Patrick Henry confessed amazement that men as sincerely "fond of liberty" and genuinely religious as himself tolerated slavery. "Would anyone believe," he asked "I am the master of slaves of my own purchase!"⁷

Historians writing about the age of the American Revolution have tended to ignore the paradox more frequently than they have attempted to resolve it, but in recent years serious attention has been given to the enslaved blacks, and such New Left historians as Jesse Lemish and Staughton Lynd have pointed out the limitations on the rights of such groups as merchant seamen and urban workers.⁸ Yet the full magnitude of the paradox is still unmeasured, for it appears that the contradiction between Lockean ideals and social practice in the year 1776 was not only more pronounced than contemporaries and traditional historians described but even exceeds the dimensions suggested by recent historians of the New Left. Had Lockean dicta been applied to all the human beings in British North America on the eve of the Revolution, and had all been permitted to enjoy the natural and legal rights of freemen, it would have been necessary to alter the status of more than 85 per cent of the population. In law and in fact no more than 15 per cent of the Revolutionary generation was free to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness unhampered by any restraints except those to which they had given their consent.⁹

The unfree of Revolutionary America may be conveniently considered in five categories: Negroes, white servants, women, minors, and propertyless adult white males.¹⁰ These categories overlap and the proportion of the total population falling

⁵ Quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Birth of the Nation* (New York, 1969), pp. 121-122.

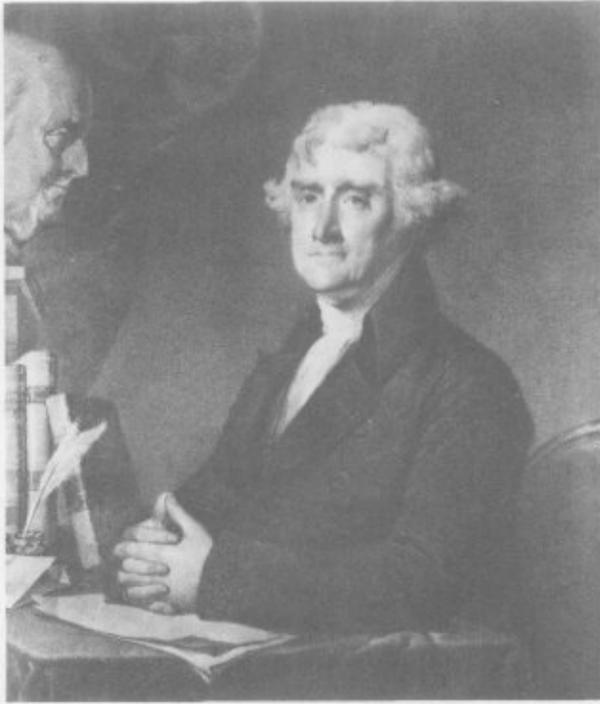
⁶ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776, Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife Abigail Adams During the Revolution* (New York, 1876), p. 148.

⁷ Quoted in J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Boston, 1956), p. 23.

⁸ Jesse Lemish, "The American Revolution Seen From the Bottom Up" in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History* (New York, 1968) and "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXV (1968), pp. 371-407; Staughton Lynd, *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* (New York, 1968) and "The Mechanics in New York Politics, 1774-1788," *Labor History*, V (1964), pp. 215-246.

⁹ For purposes of this discussion and to avoid unnecessary entanglement in the debate on the true meaning of Locke in America that may be followed in the work of Carl Becker, Bernard Bailyn, Staughton Lynd, Gordon Wood, and others, the definition of Lockean rights is taken uncritically from the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. The most extreme estimate of unfreedom in colonial America I have found is that of Howard Zinn who estimates that the proportion of the population in "physical or economic bondage" was "about one-third of the total." Howard Zinn, *The Politics of History* (Boston, 1970) p. 60.

¹⁰ Certain statistically unimportant groups of unfree are deliberately omitted from this discussion. The jail population cannot be accurately estimated, but it is unlikely that it measured more than a few thousand



Thomas Jefferson. *Library of Congress.*

into each of the categories differed from one part of the country to another. Thus there were proportionately more women in New England than in backcountry North Carolina, many more blacks, proportionally, in Virginia than in New Jersey, and a larger proportion of disfranchised adult white males in South Carolina than in Massachusetts.

at any one time and terms of confinement were short. Criminals were generally detained only until they could be flogged or hanged as appropriate and debtors were rarely held for more than a few weeks. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (New York, 1962), p. 269; Robert A. Freer, "Imprisonment for Debt in Massachusetts before 1800," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVIII (1961), pp. 252-269; Kenneth Scott, "The Liberties of the Kingston Gaol," *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, LII (1968), p. 275. Impressment into military service was a British practice that affected a certain number of American seamen. Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets," p. 396. But the militia, not the regular army and navy, was the dominant military institution in America and a large class of military "slaves" (as Benjamin Franklin described them, Verner Crane, "Benjamin Franklin on Slavery and American Liberties," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXII [1938], pp. 10-11) did not exist in America. The members of Indian tribes in British America were legally aliens. Those who lived in the white communities were legally associated with Negroes, see *infra*. Jews and Catholics were limited in their political rights in some colonies, but these groups were small and it is uncertain how many persons were actually disfranchised by the legal limitations since the final determination of who could vote was made by local election inspectors. Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage from Property to Democracy, 1760-1860* (Princeton, 1960), p. 15; Albert E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 146, 157, 158.

It is also true that legal limitations on liberty do not necessarily coincide either with a psychological sense of freedom or with social practices. The unfree were rarely, in fact, exploited to the full limit allowed by law. Nor has there been any attempt in this brief essay to present a precise description of legal status based on the myriad of local traditions, statutes, and common law interpretation. The following summaries claim to be correct in outline, not to have exhausted the complexities of the subject which are vast and largely unstudied. It is clear, however, that for each of the unfree groups the law placed definite theoretical limits on the rights Locke viewed as inalienable.

The black slaves, the most visible of the colonial unfree, comprised approximately 20 per cent of the colonial population, a proportion twice as great as that formed by the black population of the United States today. These slaves were legally chattel property. The law saw no self-evident right to liberty attached to the person of the dark-skinned laborer from Africa, and, indeed, the law had little concern for his right to life. The deliberate murder of a slave was not necessarily a felony in Virginia before the Revolution, for the law assumed that no one would intentionally destroy his own estate. Slaves had no right to hold property of their own and enjoyed the use of no more than the master allowed. As for the third right in Jefferson's trinity, pursuing happiness, if that took the form of taking time off from the master's work, it was a punishable offense.¹¹

There were a small number of free blacks in Revolutionary America, most of them in the North. Their status was superior to that of the slave, but they were still limited politically, socially, and economically in all of the colonies. For most legal purposes there was no distinction made between free and enslaved Negroes. They might have some time they could call their own for pursuing happiness, but they were forbidden to pursue it in a tavern. In Rhode Island a free black man could not even purchase a quart of cider.¹²

White servants in colonial America comprised a class perhaps half as large as the slave force but unbalanced in age and sex distribution in favor of young adult males. Their status was superior to that of Negroes but still substantially below that of freemen. In many ways the servant was merely a slave with prospects of eventual freedom and whose entry into his lowly station had been more or less voluntary. When, in November 1775, Lord Dunmore attempted to lure blacks into the British army by offering them freedom as a bounty, the same offer was extended to white servants.¹³

¹¹ A convenient digest of laws governing slaves may be found in James Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Madison, 1956), I. On property see Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965), p. 69. On population see J. Potter, "The Growth of Population in American 1700-1860" in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History* (Chicago, 1965) p. 641.

¹² John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (3rd ed.: New York, 1967), p. 105.

¹³ Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947) and Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946) are the standard treatments of this subject; Herbert Moller, "Sex Composition and Correlated Culture Patterns of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, II (1945), pp. 118-119.



Abigail Adams. *Library of Congress.*

The servant's labor belonged to his master twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Like the black slave, he was a chattel. He had no property himself but what his master allowed. He could not marry without his master's permission and, like a black man, he could not drink liquor in a tavern. Running away and disobedience were severely punished, and stories of inhuman cruelty to white servants are common. Like a slave, a white servant could be sold against his will away from his wife and family or seized to satisfy his master's debts. There seems little to recommend the legislation governing servants over that governing blacks—with one exception. White servants, unlike slaves, had personal rights to life and contract rights to a minimum standard of

living. They could bring suit to enforce these rights and the courts would enforce them even to the extent of freeing the servant outright.¹⁴

The legal status of colonial women was determined by the tradition of the British common law with certain modifications forced by pioneer American conditions, most of which were made before the end of the seventeenth century. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, which began to circulate as an admired authority among colonial lawyers in the decade before the Revolution, described a theoretical position for English females that varied substantially from that held by free English men. Under common law, Blackstone taught, a woman ceased to exist if she married, for she and her spouse became one flesh and the flesh was his. She was no longer responsible for her debts or even for all of her personal actions. She had no legal control over any property either inherited or earned. And if her husband judged her disobedient or saucy he could chastise her as he did his children and servants. This was considered proper as he might be held responsible for her misbehaviour in cases short of murder and high treason. Although divorce laws were relatively liberal for a time in the seventeenth century, a reaction in the Revolutionary era made divorce, regardless of cause, practically impossible for a woman to obtain.¹⁵

The status of unmarried women, both widows and spinsters, was considerably better. By a law of 1419 known as "couverte de Baron" an unattached woman, the "Feme Sole," was entitled to engage in business enterprises on her own account. A widow was entitled to one-third of the family estate and might be willed even more. So long as she did not remarry she could invest or dispose of this property as she wished.¹⁶ There was, however, great social pressure on women to marry. Although women made up almost half of the total population when all age groups are included, the sex ratio of men to women in the marriageable age group (i.e., between sixteen and sixty) was extremely high—160.8 men to every 100 women.¹⁷ Consequently spinsters were few and they were generally propertyless dependents in the home of a male relative. Widows commonly remarried before their husbands had been buried a year—unless they were remarkably unattractive, elderly, or poor. Those in the last category, who could not support themselves on one-third of their deceased husband's estate, would be subject to the poor laws unless a male relative could be found to take them in. The poor law prescribed compulsory labor for the poor so that impoverished widows might

¹⁴ The law is summarized in Hurd, *Law of Slavery and Bondage*, I; Tapping Reeve, *The Law of Baron and Femme* (3rd ed.: Albany, 1862). See also, Main, *Social Structure*, p. 69; Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America* (Chicago, 1931), p. 54.

¹⁵ Richard B. Morris, "Women's Rights in Early American Law," *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York, 1930) and "Legalism versus Revolutionary Doctrine in New England," reprinted in David H. Flaherty, *Essays in the History of Early American Law* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969), pp. 419-420 and 422-424. See also, Reeve, *Law of Baron and Femme*; Eugenie A. Leonard, Sophie H. Drinker, and Miriam Y. Holden, *American Women in Colonial Revolutionary Times* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 30-36.

¹⁶ The ladies engaged in professional and business activities described by Elizabeth A. Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs* (Boston, 1924) are almost exclusively widows.

¹⁷ Moller, "Sex Composition," p. 127.

be bound out to serve as domestics. In Wareham, Massachusetts (admittedly an exceptional case) there was an annual auction of indigent widows.¹⁸

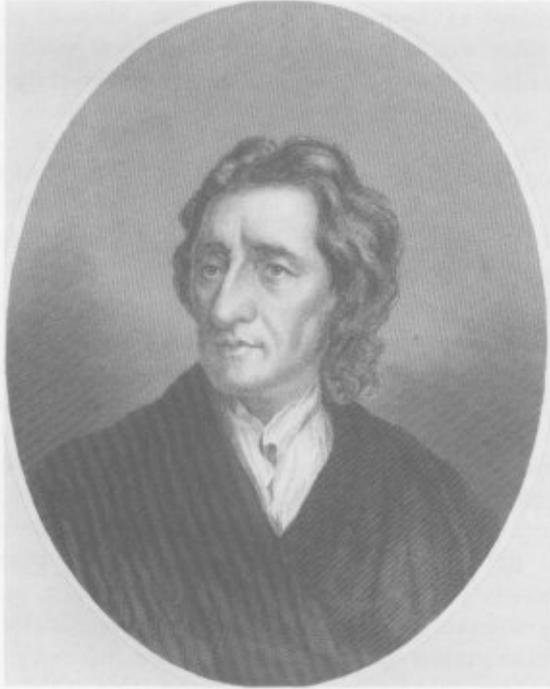
Americans under the age of twenty-one, a clear majority of the population in 1776, were legal infants, and the right to liberty of such persons was far from self-evident to the founding fathers, although they were aware that it seemed to follow, at least for older children, from the Lockean premises.¹⁹ It would be a mistake to confuse the class of legal minors in Revolutionary America with modern adolescents. Blackstone declared a boy of twelve fit to take an oath of allegiance and a girl of seven ready to be given in marriage. The age of discretion for most purposes fell between seven and fourteen and all children above this age group were subject to capital punishment for felonies and bore most of the responsibilities if not the privileges of adults. Children entered the labor force well before they entered their teens, and they developed a degree of maturity and experience in the world that would be considered unhealthily precocious today. The large number of men in their early twenties who served competently as field officers in the Revolutionary armies and sat in the Continental Congresses could only have appeared in a society that considered teenage boys adults even though it deprived them of full legal rights. Male children of the age of sixteen were taxable and liable for militia duty. And since the population of colonial America was generally young, sixteen being the median age, unfree males between sixteen and twenty-one comprised one quarter of the total taxable male population.²⁰ In an age when the mortality rates among infants and children were high and when a youth of sixteen had less than an even chance of surviving to the age of thirty, the loss of even a few years of liberty was a significant grievance.²¹

¹⁸ Schlesinger, *Birth of the Nation*, p. 26; Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America*, pp. 14–15, 15n.

¹⁹ John Adams to James Sullivan, 26 May 1776, Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1854), IX, pp. 374–378. Locke's failure to justify the unfreedom of children was viewed as a weakness in his philosophy. Lawrence H. Leder, *Liberty and Authority: Early American Political Ideology, 1689–1763* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 42–43. And, of course, our own age still feels no obligation to extend full liberty to the very young. Since liberty and power are so closely linked it is difficult to see what meaning liberty would have, even on a theoretical level, for, say, an infant of six weeks. The position that children are entitled to equal liberty with adults has not, however been without defenders. Herbert Spencer listed, as principles of abstract justice in the 1850 edition of *Social Statics* that, "the law of freedom applies to children as much as to adults; that consequently the rights of children are coextensive with those of adults; that as violating these rights, the use of coercion is wrong; and that the relationship now commonly existing between parents and children is a vicious one." And in the post-Revolutionary American republic visitors discovered that "The theory of equality of man is rampant in the nursery," as the distinctive American child-oriented family appeared. Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1967) p. 137.

²⁰ Moller, "Sex Composition," p. 122; Robert E. Brown *Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691–1780* (New York, 1969), p. 49. Alice M. Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days* (New York, 1899); Albert B. Hart, *Colonial Children* (New York, 1902); A. W. Cathoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917) I.

²¹ Precise actuarial data for the colonies as a whole are, of course, unobtainable. But see Dr. Benjamin Rush's study of Philadelphia summarized in John C. Miller, *The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America* (New York, 1966), p. 237.



John Locke. *Library of Congress.*

Furthermore, theories of child nurture in colonial days were distinctly grim, based on the still formidable patriarchal traditions that had prescribed death for a "rebellious and incorrigible son." Obedience to parents was a duty imposed by divine as well as human law to be enforced by corporal punishment if necessary. Minors were expected to work for their parents as soon as they could walk, but they had no personal property rights before they came of legal age. Authority over children above ten or fourteen was frequently transferred from the natural parents to a master.²² The institution of apprenticeship was still viable at the time of the Revolution and was the usual path for a young man who did not intend to become a farmer but wished to learn a trade. Girls might also become apprenticed. Apprenticeship articles were drawn to standards set by colonial legislatures and generally required the consent of the child as well as of his parents. But children of poor or otherwise incompetent parents might be sold against their will to masters who promised, sometimes deceitfully, to provide for them adequately and teach them a trade before they came of age.²³

Once apprenticed, a child's labor belonged to the master as fully as did that of any

²² Schlesinger, *Birth of the Nation*, p. 25; A. W. Calhoun, *Social History of the American Family* (New York, 1961), I; Alice Morse Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days* (New York, 1907).

²³ Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (New York, 1960), p. 32.

servant. Even visits to his own parents could be forbidden and the free-time conduct of apprentices was subject to the same sort of restrictions that applied to adult servants or slaves.²⁴ Disobedience to a master as to a father could be punished with the whip. If a child came to detest the trade his father apprenticed him to, or if the master failed to make him proficient in the craft, his entire future would be warped, for once of age and free it would be too late to begin again to acquire the skills needed to make a living.²⁵

These four groups—Negroes, servants, women, and minors—together comprised approximately 80 per cent of the two and a half million Americans in the year 1776.²⁶ The legal doctrine applied to these classes excluded them from the category of persons who should enjoy the “inalienable rights” of which the Declaration speaks. But perhaps the most significant mark of their unfreedom was their usual lack of a right to vote, for the privilege of consenting to the laws was the essential right of a free man in Lockean theory. Indeed, the very word “enfranchise” was defined in the eighteenth century as the equivalent of the word “emancipate;” it meant “to make free.”²⁷

Interestingly enough, the prohibition on the suffrage does not appear to have been absolute either in law or in fact for any of the unfree groups. Colonial suffrage legislation tended to be vague. Only Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia specifically confined the franchise to white voters²⁸ and there are recorded cases of Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians actually casting ballots.²⁹ When in 1778 a provision excluding blacks from the suffrage was inserted in the proposed Massachusetts constitution, a citizen observed in the *Independent Chronicle* that “A black, tawny or reddish skin is not so unfavorable in hue to the genuine son of liberty, as a tory complexion.”³⁰ Rare instances of bond servants casting votes are known and enough servants presumed to exercise the franchise in Albany, New York to necessitate their specific exclusion from participation in city elections in 1773.³¹

Only Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia specifically disfranchised females who otherwise qualified as property holders.³² When Hannah Lee Corbin protested to her brother Richard Henry Lee in 1778 that Virginia women ought not to be taxed if they had not the right to vote, he replied that “women were

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30; Schlesinger, *Birth of the Nation*, p. 63; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England* (rev. ed.: New York, 1966), p. 75.

²⁵ Morgan, *Puritan Family*, p. 68.

²⁶ J. Potter, “Growth of Population in America,” pp. 638, 649; Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936); Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, p. 336; Main, *Social Structure*, pp. 271–273.

²⁷ See Noah Webster’s *Compendious Dictionary* of 1806.

²⁸ McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 274.

²⁹ Richard P. McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey: A Study of the Development of Election Machinery, 1664–1911* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), p. 77; Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, p. 43; but see Lorenzo J. Green, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York, 1942), pp. 299–303.

³⁰ Quoted in Greene, *Negro in Colonial New England*, p. 301.

³¹ McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 223; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, p. 386n.

³² Williamson, *American Suffrage*, p. 15; McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 473.



John Adams. *Library of Congress.*

already possessed of that right,"³³ and, apparently, some women did vote for a time in Virginia as well as in New England and the middle colonies.³⁴ But these cases were rare and it is significant that Mrs. Corbin did not know she had the franchise until her brother so informed her.

Only six states explicitly stated that voters must be twenty-one years of age (Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Virginia, Connecticut, New York, and North Carolina), and there are recorded cases of young men under legal age occasionally registering their votes.³⁵

In all likelihood, however, the liberality of colonial suffrage legislation was due to careless draftsmanship rather than to any desire to permit members of the unfree classes to vote. The intention was to limit the franchise to free, adult, white males and others who voted slipped through by accident as a result of laxity among election inspectors. Indeed, we know of such cases chiefly because they served as grounds for complaint in disputed elections.³⁶

³³ Richard Henry Lee to Hannah Lee Corbin, James Curtis Ballagh, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York, 1914), I, pp. 392-394.

³⁴ Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, p. 425; Leonard, et al., *American Women*, p. 26; McCormick, *History of Voting in New Jersey*, p. 78n.; McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, pp. 192-193; 434.

³⁵ Williamson, *American Suffrage*, p. 15; Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, p. 40.

³⁶ Williamson, *American Suffrage*, pp. 15, 19.

A fifth group of colonial Americans, adult white males with little or no property, was deprived of the vote in colonial elections and so fell short of full liberty in the Lockean sense. But they were privileged above the other unfree groups since they were legally entitled to acquire property and were protected from physical abuse except such as was administered by public authority after trial as punishment for offenses against the state. Some of these disfranchised males were idiots, invalids, or residents of workhouses. Others were simply too poor to qualify under the arbitrary property requirements of the various electoral laws. Statistically they are the least significant of the unfree, although they have had more than their share of attention from critics of consensus history. They made up between 5 and 10 per cent of the total population.³⁷ If they are added to the 80 per cent of the population in the other unfree categories, which were limited not merely in their political rights but in their rights to personal liberty and property as well, then only 10 to 15 per cent of the American population remain to qualify as "freemen" in the fullest sense.

It is curious that this startling statistic has somehow escaped comment by historians. While the enslavement of Negroes and disfranchisement of some adult white males may be noted in passing as undemocratic elements in pre-Revolutionary America, the disfranchisement and worse of the other unfree classes is accepted without remark even in our enlightened age. Thus, Elisha P. Douglass defines democracy in his *Rebels and Democrats* as "a political system in which all adult males enjoyed equal political rights."³⁸ Robert Brown writes in *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts*, "The only valid approach . . . is to find out how many adult men could vote out of the total adult male population," and he concludes that "If anything with the appearance of a man could vote there was little problem of a restricted electorate."³⁹ And finally, the author of this paper casually observed in *The Eleventh Pillar*, "The important ratio is that of qualified voters to adult white males."⁴⁰

Today almost 65 per cent of the total population is enfranchised and in law, at least, virtually all of the people are secured in property rights and protected from physical abuse by private parties. Yet even our age finds it self-evident that women and young people should have been excluded from colonial political life. Since this is the case, we should not find it difficult to understand how the men of two centuries ago could accept the contradiction between their Lockean principles and their discriminatory practice without too much discomfort.

It would be both uncharitable and simplistic to dismiss the founding fathers as hypocrites because they tolerated this inconsistency. Some conflict between ideal principles and social practice is inevitable if the ideals are at all noble and the society

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-38.

³⁸ Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution*, (Chicago, 1965), pp. vii-ix. The index of the book shows no mention of women, children, or Negroes.

³⁹ Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, pp. 52 and 60.

⁴⁰ Linda Grant De Pauw, *The Eleventh Pillar: New York State and the Federal Constitution* (Ithaca, 1966), p. 144.

composed of human beings rather than angels. Nor is such contradiction undesirable. Quite the opposite, since it induces men, who will always fall short of perfection in their day to day experience, to consider the possibility of alternative social arrangements superior to their own. Thus John Adams was vastly amused when his Abigail presumed to apply the Revolutionary slogans to the condition of married ladies.⁴¹ But after puzzling over her remarks for a month he realized that, indeed, he could discover no moral foundation for government that would justify the exclusion of any class of people from full participation. Of course it was "impossible", he wrote to James Sullivan, that the principle of consent should ever be carried so far. But the logic was undeniable and if it were followed to its conclusion "women will demand a vote; lads from twelve to twenty-one will think their rights not enough attended to; and every man who has not a farthing, will demand an equal voice with any other, in all acts of state."⁴² Adams seems to have predicted the long range impact of the Revolutionary doctrine accurately enough.⁴³

Again, Patrick Henry, facing up to the contrast between his words and his practice of keeping slaves, wrote, "I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them."⁴⁴

In the final analysis, however, the contradiction was tolerable to Americans because they compared the extent of liberty in their society not with the Lockean ideal but with the extent of liberty in other contemporary or historically known societies. From this perspective there was no doubt that the Americans of 1776 were remarkably free. Even the slaves, servants, women, and children of America enjoyed positions superior to those held by similar classes in other lands and other times.⁴⁵ And surely a land in which more than 10 per cent of the population owned property and had a voice in the government was a wonder in an age when the civilized world was ruled by hereditary monarchs and property ownership was a prerogative of aristocrats. Even in

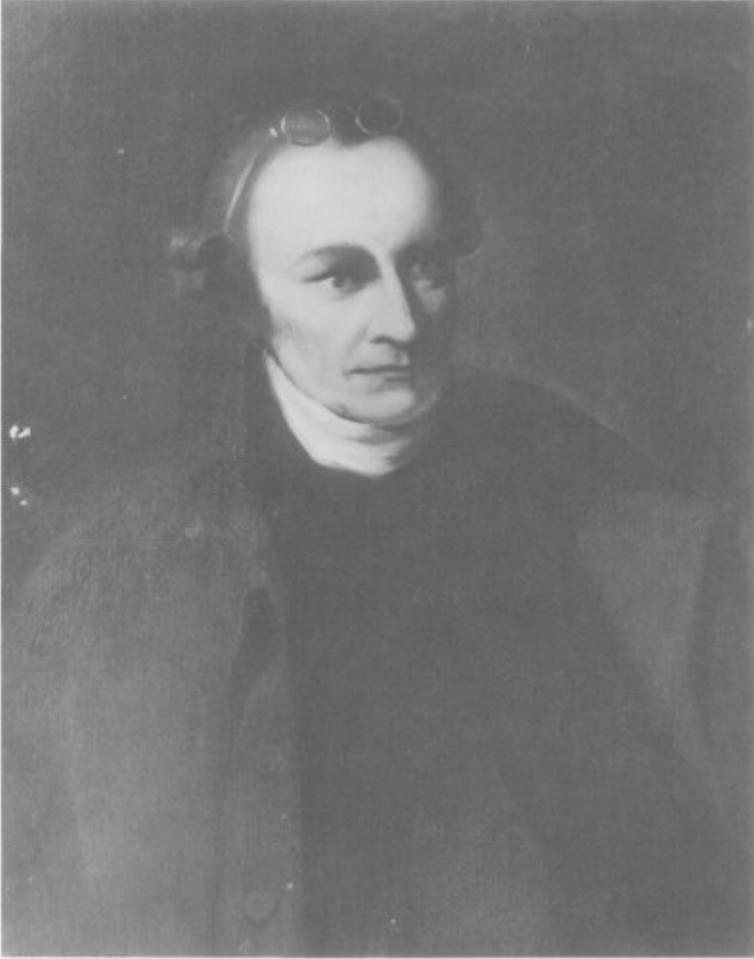
⁴¹ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776; Adams, ed., *Familiar Letters*, p. 148; John Adams to Abigail Adams, 14 April 1776, *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴² John Adams to James Sullivan, 26 May 1776, Adams, ed., *Works of John Adams*, IX, pp. 375-378.

⁴³ The status of blacks and women suffered a temporary decline in the immediate wake of the Revolution. Oscar and Mary Handlin, *The Dimensions of Liberty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp. 26, 29; Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment*, p. 424; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: the Colonial Experience* (New York, 1964), pp. 186-187. But the traffic in convicts and other involuntary servants was halted with independence from England (Scheslinger, *Birth of the Republic*, p. 62) and visitors to the young republic early remarked on the insolence and democratic bearing of servants. As for children, see conclusion of note 19 *supra*.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Jameson, *American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ A class strictly comparable to American slaves did not exist in Europe, but the status of slaves in the eighteenth century was superior to that of nineteenth century slaves, and the slaves of the late colonial period had not fallen to the level of slaves in antiquity. Thomas Perkins Abernathy, ed., Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (New York, 1964), pp. 136-137. American women and children enjoyed superior status because of the premium on human labor in a pioneer society. Morgan, *Puritan Family*, pp. 45, 68; Moller "Sex Composition," 140. And servants were at least as well off as they were in England; some would have been executed for crime had they not been sent to America. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependant Classes*, p. 54.



Patrick Henry. *Library of Congress.*

England, where the political liberty of the early eighteenth century had made her people the envy of Europe, no more than 25 per cent of “the active male population” had voted in even the freest parts of the kingdom—and after the first third of the century even this electorate had dwindled.⁴⁶ Yet, to quote J. H. Plumb, “this was England’s vast singularity, a unique situation amongst the major powers of the world.”⁴⁷

Surely the gap that separated American society from the Lockean ideal was no

⁴⁶ J. H. Plumb, “Political Man” in James L. Clifford, comp., *Man versus Society in Eighteenth Century Britain*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

more impressive than that which separated colonial American society from the societies of Europe. If freedom had a home anywhere in the world in the year 1776 it was in the new United States of America. But if "democracy" implies government by consent of the governed or at least by consent of a majority of those governed and not merely of an adult white male elite, then those historians from Bancroft to Brown who have described American society of the mid-eighteenth century as "democratic" are simply wrong. The opinion of Carl Becker and many others that colonial governments "did in a rough and ready way, conform to the kind of government for which Locke furnished a reasoned foundation"⁴⁸ is vastly overstated. And the attempts of the New Left history to view the American Revolution "from the bottom up" will be superficial so long as "the bottom" is conceived in a way that still excludes the majority of the population.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1958), pp. 72-73.

⁴⁹ See Jesse Lemisch's criticism of Robert Brown's thesis, in "The American Revolution from the Bottom Up," pp. 6-8.

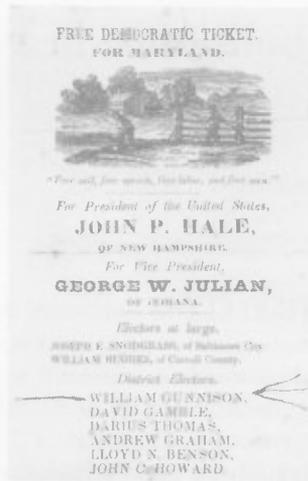
“Old Gunny”: Abolitionist in a Slave City

ROGER BRUNS AND WILLIAM FRALEY

WHATEVER ELSE ANTE-BELLUM Baltimore was, it could hardly be called a cradle of abolitionism. Although this raw port city numbered among its inhabitants some anti-slavery adherents, their number was small at best, if the ballot box can be used as a gauge for measuring the influence of abolitionism. The Free Soil ticket, for example, received twenty-one votes out of a total of 23,619 cast in the Presidential election of 1852, while the Republican party's first Presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, managed to garner only 214 of more than 26,000 votes counted in the election of 1856. Baltimore was, after all, the principal city in Maryland, which, like other slave states, looked with no small amount of disfavor upon anyone who advocated the abolition of slavery. Those who did found themselves subjected to ridicule, threats of physical abuse, and, occasionally, actual bodily harm.

The most frequent target in Baltimore for pro-slavery invective was William Gunnison—“Old Gunny” or “Gunny” in pro-slavery circles—the city's most outspoken abolitionist. Whatever his motives—ideological, political, or, considering his environs, antisocial—they certainly were not financial. Active in the abolitionist cause at least as early as the 1840's, Gunnison was forced to close his merchant's business by 1851 when he found Baltimore's bankers were no longer willing to do business with him. Falling back on the income from a small interest in real estate, Gunnison, serving as a delegate to the Buffalo Free Soil Convention in 1852 and as an elector on the Free Soil ticket for which twenty-one Baltimoreans voted in that year, continued to persist in his support of anti-slavery parties and platforms. He lent his efforts to the organization of a Republican party in Maryland and was a delegate to the party's state convention in 1856, a meeting which was mobbed by pro-slavery partisans.¹

¹ William Gunnison applied twice for the patronage job of Collector of Customs in Baltimore, once in 1861, and again in 1882. His earlier application file was incorporated by the Treasury Department into his 1882 file. The combined files, located in Applications for Collector of Customs (1882), Record Group 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, National Archives, constitute a fascinating sketch of the man's life from the early 1840's to the early days of the Civil War. Included in this unusual file are Gunnison's correspondence with a number of important figures in the abolition movement and the Republican Party, newspaper clippings, hate mail, and letters of recommendation from important individuals of the period. There are also in the file a considerable number of letters to Gunnison from Hinton Rowan Helper, which, to our knowledge, have not heretofore been seen by historians. All the information used in the preparation of this article, whether it be quoted or paraphrased, has been, unless otherwise cited, taken from this file.



Maryland Electors for Free Soil Party—1852. *National Archives.*

By the late 1850's, the sobriquet, "Old Gunny," had become synonymous with ridicule, and Gunnison found little about his material circumstances to take the edge off his public notoriety. No longer able to finance the education of his son and daughter, he was forced to withdraw them from school. Taking stock of his situation, Gunny decided to leave Baltimore, but not before he tried his hand at one more "campaign."² Anti-slavery politics, and Baltimore as well, were apparently deeply rooted in Gunnison's psyche, so he stayed on to work for whomever the Republican party would choose for its Presidential candidate in 1860. Not inclined to be idle, he warmed up for the coming fray by agreeing, in 1859, to act as principal subscription agent in Maryland for a compendium of Hinton Rowan Helper's violent attack on slavery, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It*.³

An acquaintance of Gunnison's since their meeting at a Fremont rally in Baltimore in 1856,⁴ Helper wrote to the Maryland abolitionist on January 27, 1859, informing him that someone was needed to obtain subscriptions for the compendium in that state. Gunnison was more than willing to accept what he obviously considered another

² Gunnison to Salmon P. Chase, April 1, 1861.

³ A southern abolitionist who personally despised the Negro and who saw slavery as the means by which a self-interested aristocracy consciously held small farmers and laborers of the South in ignorance and poverty, Helper worked tirelessly to make his *Impending Crisis* the principal printed voice of abolition sentiment. By 1859 he had managed, largely through a carefully cultivated friendship with Horace Greeley and the endorsement of Greeley's newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, to persuade a number of influential Republicans, including sixty-eight members of Congress, to support a scheme for national circulation of a compendium of the original work as a vehicle for expressing Party sentiment on the slavery question. He was careful to conceal his own Negrophobia. Hugh C. Bailey, *Hinton Rowan Helper: Abolitionist-Racist* (University of Alabama, 1965), pp. 6, 41, 45-46 and *passim*.

⁴ Helper recommendation on behalf of Gunnison, March 16, 1861.

commission in the relentless struggle to bring abolitionism triumphant to Maryland.⁵ His audacious and vigorous approach, however, was not one likely to elicit love and affection from his fellow Baltimoreans; nor, for that matter, was the book he agreed to distribute.

Maryland, like the rest of the slave states, viewed *The Impending Crisis* quite differently than did Gunnison. Reaction to the book was loud and angry. Leading newspapers in the state, as in the rest of the South, bitterly assailed the book and anyone who endorsed it.

The Impending Crisis was considered by slave state legislatures to be literature of an incendiary nature, and, under existing laws in these states, persons possessing the book or selling it were liable to arrest and prosecution. In Maryland, offenders were generally prosecuted under an 1835 statute which prohibited "any person knowingly to circulate or any way knowingly assist in circulating among the inhabitants thereof any pictorial [sic] representation or any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill or other paper printed or written of any inflammatory character having a tendency to create discontent among and stir up insurrection of the people of colour of this state . . ."⁶

Many in the state who read the book burned their copies to eliminate the evidence of their "culpability," but occasionally the long arm of the law reached out to find some less careful Marylander to punish him for his sins.⁷ One of these unlucky persons was Charles T. Dixon of Dorchester County, a friend of Gunnison's, who was arrested and dragged off to Cambridge to be tried for selling a copy of the work.⁸ Dixon's bail was set at twice the figure generally required in cases of this kind,⁹ but the man took his arrest with resignation and justified his actions with a bit of exalted prose. He wrote to Gunnison, "no man, when he hath lighted a candle covereth it, but setteth it on a candlestick."¹⁰

Although Dixon was referring to his own activities, he may just as well have been describing his friend, whose "candle" was anything but covered. Scurrying around Baltimore and addressing inquiries to other parts of Maryland, Gunnison drove himself without mercy to secure advance subscriptions to the compendium. By November 21, 1859, he was able to report to Helper that he had collected a grand total of eleven dollars in advance payments. Undaunted, he proclaimed that, in spite of a rather obvious hesitation on the part of individuals to pay for the work in advance, he could effectively distribute one thousand copies in the state.¹¹ To this end Gunnison continued his work, and, despite the reluctance of Helper and other leaders in the distribution effort to fill large orders without money in hand, he was, by the middle of

⁵ Helper to Gunnison, Jan. 27, 1859; Helper to Gunnison, n.d.

⁶ C. Dixon to Gunnison, Jan. 10, 1860, quoting from the "Dorsey Law."

⁷ Dixon to Gunnison, Nov. 15, 1859.

⁸ Anonymous to Editors of the Baltimore *Patriot*, Dec. 6, 1859.

⁹ Gunnison to Helper, Dec. 17, 1859, William Henry Anthon Collection of Letters Relative to the Publication of the *Impending Crisis*, New York Public Library, New York City. Hereinafter cited as Anthon Collection.

¹⁰ Dixon to Gunnison, Jan. 10, 1860.

¹¹ Gunnison to Helper, Nov. 21, 1859, Anthon Collection.

New-York, March 9th, 1859.

DEAR SIR :

If you have read and critically examined the work, you will probably agree with us, that no course of argument so successfully controverting the practice of Slavery in the United States, and enforcing a precise and adequate view of its prostrating effects, material and moral, has equalled that of the volume entitled "THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH : HOW TO MEET IT," by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina.

No other volume now before the public, as we conceive, is, in all respects, so well calculated to induce in the minds of its readers a decided and persistent repugnance to Slavery, and a willingness to co-operate in the effort to restrain the shameless advances and hurtful influences of that pernicious institution.

The extensive circulation of a copious compend of the work in question, among the intelligent, liberty-loving voters of the country, irrespective of party or locality, would, we believe, be productive of most beneficial results ; and to this end we trust that you will assist us in carrying out a plan we have devised, for the gratuitous distribution of One Hundred Thousand copies of such a compend—which, if contracted for and published, will contain about two hundred pages, and be bound in pamphlet form.

One hundred thousand copies of the contemplated compend, which, on about two hundred pages, would contain very nearly all the matter now embraced in the regular volume, (which sells for one dollar per copy), can be had, well printed on good paper, for sixteen cents each—\$16,000 in the aggregate. This amount we propose to raise in such sums as you and other good friends of a good cause feel disposed to subscribe.

In all cases, when convenient, contributors to the cause will please make their subscriptions in the form of drafts, or certificates of deposit, payable to the order of the Hon. Wm. H. ANTHON, 16 Exchange Place, New York City, our Treasurer and Disburser, who will regularly, through the columns of the *Tribune*, acknowledge receipts of the same.

Every person who subscribes Ten Dollars or more, will, if timely application be made, be entitled to as many copies of the compend for distribution as he may desire, not exceeding the number that the amount of his subscription would pay for at net cost.

Subscribers' names, with the sums severally subscribed by them, in all cases where the amount is Ten Dollars or more, will appear, alphabetically arranged, in the latter part of the compend.

Correspondence or personal interviews in relation to this enterprise, may be had with any one of the undersigned, who will be pleased to receive subscriptions in aid of its speedy consummation.

An early response from you is respectfully solicited.

WM. H. ANTHON, TREASURER, 16 Exchange Place, New York.

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, *Boston, Mass.*

WM. GUNNISON, *Baltimore, Md.*

SETH PADELFORD, *Providence, R. I.*

LEWIS OLEPHANE, *Washington, D. C.*

WM. B. THOMAS, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

CASSIUS M. CLAY, *Whitehall, Ky.*

WM. McCAULLEY, *Wilmington, Del.*

FRANK P. BLAIE, JR. *St. Louis, Mo.*

The undersigned having been appointed a Committee in New York, to aid in the circulation of Mr. Helper's book, on the plan proposed above, beg leave to recommend the object to the public and ask their co-operation.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange Place, New York, directly, or through either of the undersigned

COMMITTEE.

CHARLES W. ELLIOTT,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

CHARLES A. PEABODY,

R. H. McCURDY,

WM. CURTIS NOYES,

EDGAR KETCHUM,

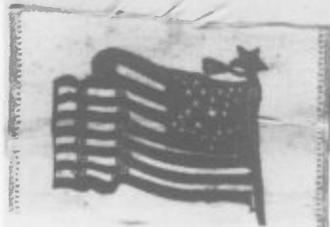
ABRAM WAKEMAN,

JAMES KELLY,

BENJ. F. MANIERRE,

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

[OVER.]



Circular advertising proposed publication of a compendium of *The Impending Crisis* and bearing Gunnison's name and accompanying endorsement of the book by various members of the House of Representatives. *National Archives.*



Anti-Gunnison "canal boat ticket." *National Archives.*

December, able to get rid of several hundred copies, primarily to members of the working class.¹²

The harder Gunnison worked to find readers for Helper's book, the more obnoxious he became to the majority of Baltimoreans. He was, according to the *Baltimore Republican*, "in league with . . . bitter enemies of the South, and is laboring with these fanatics to overthrow the Constitution, and to incite our slaves to rebellion and murder."¹³ His mailbox became a popular dumping place for abusive and threatening letters. One such missive, written by an anonymous author in Charleston, South Carolina, contained the following graphic recipe for Gunnison's impending doom:

Take an abolitionist—or a sympathizer with Old Brown or as in your Case, an endorser of Helper's Book—Strip him stark naked—administer nine and thirty lashes on his bare back . . . Then boil fifteen gallons of *Tar*—Pour it liberally upon his head, neck, face, beard, shoulders, back & belly—Then take twenty pounds of live geese feathers, plaster them thoroughly into the *Tar*—Bid the subject rise—& you have a bird which Baltimoreans have never seen yet, but of which they will be delighted to have a view as exhibited in your person—The nine & thirty lashes . . . laid on, you cant fail to perceive, has a wonderful effect in *preserving* the plumage of this bird, as well as in imparting to it, a beautiful scarlet color.¹⁴

Undaunted by either editorial abuse or literary threats to his well-being, Gunnison continued his distribution efforts into the early months of 1860. His attention, however, was now divided as Maryland Republicans began to concentrate their efforts on the State Republican Convention, where delegates were to be selected to attend the

¹² Gunnison to Helper, Dec. 17, 1859, Anthon Collection; Daniel Orem to Gunnison, Dec. 20, 1859.

¹³ *Baltimore Republican*, Jan. 21, 1860.

¹⁴ Anonymous to Gunnison, Dec. 19, 1859.

party's National Convention in Chicago. The party in Maryland was divided into two major factions, both of which were determined to dominate the state convention and to elect their slate of national delegates. One faction, led by Montgomery Blair, the leading Republican in the state, counseled moderation on the slavery question and supported colonization of Negroes in Central America. The other faction, with which Gunnison was aligned, espoused the uncompromising abolitionism of William Henry Seward and supported Seward's candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination.¹⁵

The Seward faction came to the state convention sensing victory, but their high hopes were soon shattered by what they considered a rather suspicious turn of events. No sooner had the delegates assembled in Baltimore's Rechabite Hall on April 26, 1860, than the meeting was invaded by a band of pro-slavery rowdies intent upon driving the frightened Republicans into the street. Gunnison ran for his life. With howls of "Old Ossawatomie" and suggestions of "tar and feather him" and "lynch him" ringing in his ears, he managed to hole up in the Marine Bank until the police brought the mob under control.¹⁶ While Gunnison and many of his fellow radicals were thus temporarily indisposed, other delegates reassembled at a private residence and selected Blair men to go to the National Convention in Chicago. The group also adopted a platform calling for colonization.¹⁷

The Blair men went to Chicago, and the Republicans, of course, nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. Gunnison now had his "one more campaign" to see through in Baltimore, though not for the man he wanted. In spite of the absence of Seward on the ticket, however, Old Gunny channeled all his energy into the Republican campaign to win Maryland's electoral votes. In the weeks that followed Lincoln's nomination, he organized "wide-awake" clubs and concentrated his efforts on getting the Republican point of view out in the open.¹⁸

Throughout the summer and into the fall, the "wide-awake" clubs and other Republican groups held rallies, all leading up to a climactic pre-election mass rally on October 29, in Baltimore's Richmond Market Place, normally a meeting ground for the Democratic faithful.¹⁹ The pro-slavery Baltimore *Clipper*, which took special delight in using Gunnison as a journalistic punching bag, warmed up to the forthcoming rally by suggesting a foot race between Old Gunny and a professional runner, an Indian from New York named Smith—distance, ten miles; the prize, two hundred fifty dollars. The *Clipper* declared:

Gunny, it is well known, has given evidence of the possession of remarkable speed, and if only stimulated by the encouraging shouts of *white* men, is competent to run for the Marine bank.

¹⁵ Reinhard Luthin, "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIX (March, 1944), p. 27.

¹⁶ *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860.

¹⁷ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, (3 vols; Baltimore, 1879), III, p. 355. f.n.

¹⁸ H. Welch to Gunnison, Oct. 10, 1860.

¹⁹ *Baltimore Patriot*, Oct. 30, 1860.



Montgomery Blair. *Library of Congress.*

A friend of ours who has seen Gunny running after a sable damsel, hearing of the desired match offers to go his pile on him any day or night.²⁰

The rally came off as scheduled without incident. It was, according to the *Border State*, a Republican newspaper, a “complete success” and “demonstrated beyond all cavil or doubt that Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Action, and entire Freedom in every constitutional right is at last secured to us by this bold and determined demonstration”²¹ The *Baltimore Clipper* disagreed slightly, reporting that, “The small batch of imported nigger-worshippers . . . assembled last night at the Richmond Market, and went through with the farce of a mass meeting.”²²

The Wide-Awakes held a parade after the rally, and Gunnison was, uncharacteristically, not among the marchers. He had gained access to Levi Perry’s shoe store, and, perched in the store window, waved encouragement to his allies as they filed by.²³ After discovering Gunny in his store, Perry, something less than a supporter of

²⁰ *Baltimore Clipper*, Oct. 25, 1860.

²¹ *The Border State*, Oct. 30, 1860.

²² *Baltimore Clipper*, Oct. 30, 1860.

²³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1860.

MAGNIFICENT MEETING
MAGNIFICENT MEETING
AND GRAND
DEMONSTRATION
OF THE FRIENDS OF
LINCOLN and HAMLIN

Will be held at **MECHANIC'S HALL**, Fayette Street, under direction of the 13th Ward Republican Association, on **THURSDAY** evening next **October 4th**, at **7 1-2 o'clock**.

Hon. **JUDGE KILGOUR**, of Ohio,
Hon. **JUDGE MARSHALL**, and
W. M. E. GLEESON, Esq.,
of this city, will address the meeting, as will also **Mr. RAPP**, editor of the *Wecker*, who will speak in the German language. Republicans and the public generally, are invited to attend.

LET EVERY FREEMAN BE "WIDE AWAKE" AND HELP SWELL THE CROWD.

Printed at the "Border State" Office, N. W. corner Baltimore and Gay Street.

Poster advertising Republican Party rally in Baltimore. *National Archives*.

abolition causes, deposited him rather roughly in the street from whence he came.²⁴ The *Clipper* remarked of Gunnison's ouster, "The presence of ladies alone spared him the application of boots and shoes to that point of the human anatomy where kicks 'Hurts honor more than twice two thousand kicks before.'"²⁵

Just why Gunnison hid in Perry's shoe store during the parade is not altogether clear. The action was definitely out of character in a man who had never before blanched in the fear of abuse, physical or otherwise. He may have been preparing for

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1860.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

things to come. The election of Lincoln to the Presidency and the resulting furor that spread throughout the slave states placed men like Gunnison in a position more precarious than they had ever been in before. They had reason, perhaps, to be even more uneasy than was a certain Wendell Phillips, an outsider, who wrote Gunnison while passing through Baltimore, "I am in the camp of the Philistines! and I trust to your discretion; my life is in your hands. Expose me, and I will be added to martyrs of our cause. None know of my presence in this city. Be discreet! Be wise!"²⁶

If Republicans in Baltimore were nervous, they could not have been any more nervous than the President-elect, whose journey to his inauguration in Washington was to carry him through the port city. There were men in the city who, as one Baltimore Cassandra wrote to Lincoln in January, 1861, "... would glory in being hanged for having stabbed a black republican president."²⁷ On February 21, shortly before Lincoln was to raise a ceremonial flag at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, he got word that "banded rowdies" were planning to raise more than a flag when he passed through Baltimore the next day.²⁸ The President-elect journeyed through the city anyway—in the wee hours of the morning, hidden away in a sleeping car.²⁹

Events that took place in Baltimore in the days following the inauguration and the attack on Fort Sumter justified Lincoln's fears about the city. A number of the regiments that responded to the President's call for any army of volunteers after Fort Sumter had to march through Baltimore on their way to Washington, a situation not conducive to rational debate or a disinterested citizenry. Several companies of Union volunteers, on April 18, 1861, were hissed, bombarded with flying objects, and serenaded with enthusiastic, if not melodious, renditions of "Dixie."³⁰

On the following day, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was attacked by several thousand enraged citizens who blockaded streets and showered the troops with stones.³¹ The city was, as Henry Stump, Judge of the Baltimore Criminal Court, remembered it, "... in a state of disorder and excitement ... the soldiers bore the pelting of the pitiless mob for a long time under a full trot, and more than three of them were knocked and shot down, before they returned the assaults."³² When the day's festivities were concluded, several soldiers and civilians had been killed, and scores had been injured.³³

Gunnison, apparently concluding that the existing state of affairs threatened his continued good health, wisely removed himself to Washington, where he joined the ranks of the Republican faithful who were besieging the Lincoln administration with

²⁶ Wendell Phillips to Gunnison, Jan. 18, 1861.

²⁷ George Hazzard to Abraham Lincoln, January, 1861, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁸ Enclosure with letter of Winfield Scott to Lincoln, Feb. 21, 1861, Lincoln Papers.

²⁹ Edward Lanis, "Allen Pinkerton and the Baltimore Assassination Plot Against Lincoln," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (March, 1950), p. 9.

³⁰ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 400–401.

³¹ Charles B. Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (March, 1961), p. 47.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 403–409.


 Baltimore 23. 4. 1861
 William Gunnison
 You are hereby notified
 to leave the city of Baltimore
 and the state of Maryland
 within the space of twenty
 four hours, failing to
 do so you will be taken
 either from your chimney
 stone window or the
 first lamp post nearest
 the Southern Union

 S. H.

Threatening Letter sent to Gunnison by Pro-slavery "Southern Union." *National Archives.*

requests for some of the material blessings that went with the party's occupation of the White House.³⁴

On April 22, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, requesting that he be considered for the position of Collector of Customs in Baltimore, or "any position which I may be found capable of filling . . ." He signed the letter "hastily yours."³⁵ Two days later Gunnison again wrote Chase and provided a possible explanation for the way in which he had ended his earlier letter. Gunnison was down to his last \$6.50 and on the verge of having his property sold in settlement of delinquent taxes. His son was making haste to leave Baltimore as the city was being purged of those who had voted for Lincoln; already five hundred of the 1,087 Baltimoreans who had voted for the Republican ticket had been hounded out of

³⁴ Gunnison to Salmon P. Chase, April 22, 1861.

³⁵ *Ibid.*



The Attack on the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in Baltimore on April 19, 1861.
Maryland Historical Society.

town by Southern volunteers who had been assigned to each ward for just such a purpose. Old Gunny emphasized that he was not abating "one jot or tittle of that independence to tyranny" which he clearly represented, but he made it very clear that he was indeed a man in need of a job.³⁶

Unfortunately for Gunnison and other Baltimoreans of similar political persuasion who were seeking government jobs, the Lincoln administration felt it necessary to pursue a conciliatory policy with regard to patronage in such pivotal border states as Maryland and Kentucky. As far as Lincoln's strategy of keeping the Union together was concerned, the importance of Maryland and the port of Baltimore was obvious. Of Baltimore, William Loundes Yancey had said in September, 1860, that it would be the New York of the South should Maryland be lured out of the Union.³⁷

As early as December, 1860, Lincoln had revealed his thoughts on the patronage in these vital states when he declared, "As to the use of the patronage in the slave states, when there are few or no Republicans, I do not expect to inquire for the politics

³⁶ Gunnison to Chase, April 24, 1861.

³⁷ Charles B. Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI (Sept., 1941), p. 261.

of the appointee . . . I never have been, am not now, and probably never shall be, in a mood of harrassing the people, either North or South.”³⁸ There would especially be no hard-line Republicans appointed in Maryland, where, he was told, the great body of people “entertain no little aversion to a small band of men calling themselves Republicans.”³⁹

Rumors of this patronage policy in the border states reached Gunnison, who viewed the whole affair with contempt. He wrote to Seward:

I am free to say that our antislavery friends here who have ever been Republicans from principle fear . . . the great pressure that is always brought to bear upon a President that they be crushed out . . . Is it possible that Mr. Lincoln will pass by such to give power and place to Politicians merely who ignore principle and everything but a miserable groveling policy to please their enemies or conciliate the few who have not been strong enough to avow their conscientious convictions of right and vote in accordance with them, thereby bowing to the will of Mammon or the God of Trade.⁴⁰

If Gunnison had few friends in Baltimore, he had no trouble finding persons elsewhere who were willing to help him in his quest for a government position. He was able to put together an impressive list of recommendations from important figures in the Republican party, including several United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives. Helper himself put in a good word for Gunnison, declaring that he was the “only gentleman in Baltimore who had sufficient moral courage to allow his name to be publicly announced in the distribution of my book in that city and vicinity.” Gunnison was, in Helper’s opinion, “a thorough Republican in head and heart, and like every other man in the South who has dared to set his face against Slavery, has had to endure the contumely, proscription, and persecution of his neighbors.”⁴¹

Gunnison put together all his recommendations, scrapbooks filled with newspaper clippings, examples of hate mail that had come his way, along with samples of correspondence with leading Republicans illustrative of his struggles in Baltimore from as far back as 1848, and included the lot in his application for the Collector’s job. He did not get it.

Henry Hoffman, a Constitutional Unionist, became the new Collector of Customs in Baltimore. The other patronage positions in the city were filled by either men of Hoffman’s ilk or by Republicans much more moderate than Gunnison.⁴²

Old Gunny kept trying, however. In 1862, he applied for the position of Consul at Singapore.⁴³ There is evidence that he also made application for a clerk’s job in the

³⁸ Ray Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), IV, p. 152.

³⁹ Henry Winter Davis to Lincoln, Feb., 1861, Lincoln Papers

⁴⁰ Gunnison to William H. Seward, Nov. 12, 1860.

⁴¹ Recommendation by Helper on behalf of Gunnison, March 1, 1861.

⁴² Luthin, “Davis-Blair,” p. 29.

⁴³ Letters of Application and Recommendation, RG 59, Records of the Department of State, National Archives.



Salmon Portland Chase. *Library of Congress.*

War Department.⁴⁴ He was still trying in 1882, when he once again applied for Collector of Customs in Baltimore.⁴⁵ The outcome was the same as with all his earlier efforts—no job for Gunny, the long and faithful servant. Forgotten by his party, Gunnison continued to live in the city which had been so hostile to him.⁴⁶ He died there in 1892.⁴⁷

It might be expected that a man who had endured so much ill fortune during his lifetime could expect something better after death. With the libraries and bookstores filled to overflowing with works, both good and bad, on the Nation's greatest "trauma," and the proverbial woodwork crawling with Civil War buffs, it would seem that someone could write a kind word about Gunnison. This is not to say, however,

⁴⁴ Gunnison to John Alley, Jan. 18, 1862.

⁴⁵ Gunnison to Chester A. Arthur, Jan. 2, 1882.

⁴⁶ Apparently Gunnison continued to be active in Republican activities in Baltimore. There is evidence that he was a delegate from Maryland to the Republican National Convention in 1872. Petition accompanying Gunnison's letter to Chester A. Arthur, Jan. 2, 1882.

⁴⁷ Diehlman Biographical Card File, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore.

that Gunnison has been ignored by the historians. In 1965, his work with Helper and the *Impending Crisis* was finally recognized in a major biography of the North Carolina abolitionist. The author, unfortunately, gave credit for Gunnison's work to somebody named William Garrison.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Bailey, *Hinton Rowan Helper*, p. 54 and *passim*. Gunnison is also mentioned briefly in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 251, 384-385. Scharf's first reference is to Gunnison's association with the organization of the Republican Party in Maryland, and the second is to Lincoln's trip through Baltimore on his way to the inauguration in 1861. Bailey apparently misread the signature on Gunnison's letters in the Anthon Collection, which is cited earlier in the article and which the authors examined at the New York Public Library.



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Albert C. Ritchie in Power: 1920–1927

JOSEPH B. CHEPAITIS

ALBERT CABELL RITCHIE remains among the Free State's foremost governors. Certainly, the sheer length of office—fifteen years—is noteworthy. No governor had been renominated since the Civil War, except Lloyd Loundes (1896–1900), and no governor had succeeded himself until Ritchie. The idea of re-electing a governor was as foreign to some Maryland citizens before the 1920's as the disappearance of soft-shell crabs from the Eastern Shore or the permanent stopping of the B&O trains.¹ Although Ritchie was elected governor of Maryland for four unprecedented terms, he laid the principal foundation for his prestige during his first two administrations.

As governor, his administrations were significant for their reforms along progressive, yet fiscally conservative lines. He attempted to interpret and propagate the thoughts of his ideological mentor, Thomas Jefferson, in the changing context of the twentieth century. This double-fisted attitude of progressivism and economy prevailed as he urged health, welfare, educational, and labor improvements, an efficient “business-modeled” state government, a reduction of state taxes, and opposition to a state Volstead Act. His first two terms were years of achievement; his future work was essentially an expansion and implementation of the precedents established in his first seven years. These reforms, and his own personal popularity, sustained him until his defeat in late 1934.

Born in Richmond in his mother's Cabell family home on August 28, 1876, he became a Marylander three weeks later when his mother brought him home to Judge Albert Ritchie's Baltimore house. Raised in a prominent political family, he was educated in private schools, received his B.A. in 1896 from Johns Hopkins University, and earned his law degree from the University of Maryland Law School in 1898.² The nervous young lawyer was to argue his first case before his father.³

He soon began his political rise by serving in a number of early posts that included Assistant City Solicitor of Baltimore (1903–1910) and Assistant General Counsel to the Public Service Commission of Maryland (1910–1912). The latter position offered him maximum political exposure. In 1912, he became the lone champion of the

¹ *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1923.

² *The Evening Sun*, Feb. 24, 1936.

³ Undated, no newspaper identification; Albert Cabell Ritchie File, Vertical Files, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.



Governor Albert C. Ritchie at the First Governor's Advisory Council, ca. 1922. *Maryland Historical Society*.

Baltimore consumers to obtain cheaper gas and electricity. The chairman of the citizens' consumer committee declared: "We are going to put Ritchie on the job. He is as clean as a hound's tooth-smart, bright, a hard worker and absolutely beyond the reach of any improper influence."⁴ Despite considerable opposition and after eight months of litigation, Ritchie secured a reduction in the prices of gas and electricity. Two years later, as a private attorney, he tackled the utilities again because they had so reduced the quality of gas that his victory had been nullified. The Public Service Commission agreed with Ritchie and the gas company again dropped its rates.

Enhanced by the reputation gained from the rate debate, he was elected Democratic Attorney-General of Maryland in 1915, serving until 1919, except for a leave of absence to become chief counsel to the War Industries Board under Bernard M. Baruch.⁵ His rise was facilitated not only by his competence but also by his own personality. Handsome by any standards, his contemporaries described him as energetic, politically ambitious, intellectually honest with himself and others, and

⁴ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 24, 1936.

⁵ *Ibid.* Ritchie was specifically chosen by Baruch. Baruch "... admired the intelligent and highly geared young attorney for the group." Margaret Coit, *Mr. Baruch* (Boston, 1957), pp. 166, 134. This admiration and personal friendship included substantial campaign contributions by Baruch to Ritchie, \$5,000 in 1919, \$2500 in 1923. *New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1923.

farsighted.⁶ He enjoyed administrative and organizational work, and thus he found little time for social activities or his favorite sports, tennis and swimming. After a divorce in 1916, he lived most of his years with his mother, and according to a close associate Ritchie was a lonely man⁷ and regretted the lack of time available for relaxation with old and faithful friends.⁸

After the war, Ritchie took advantage of a political vacuum in Maryland to secure the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1919. Although the regular party politicians offered lukewarm support, he was valuable to them because of his personal popularity, his proven capability in public office, and his strengthening of the general ticket in November.⁹ Few significant issues divided Ritchie and the Republican candidate, Harry W. Nice. Nice chiefly criticized the federal and state Democratic organizations, with Ritchie on the defensive. In a close election, Ritchie won by only 165 votes.¹⁰

Blessed with a firmly Democratically-controlled legislature in his first term, he considered two matters urgent in the 1920 legislative assembly: finances and the construction of lateral roads.¹¹ Meeting with state road officials and the Finance and Ways and Means Committees of the Senate and the House, Ritchie decided that the state should match the federal appropriations of \$850,000 per year for ten years.¹² Ritchie, a frequent and vocal opponent of federal aid, was not a consistent adversary of all federal subsidies. When federal funds were available for highways, he declared: "So long as the practice continues to exist, and other states take advantage of it, there is no reason . . . why Maryland should penalize herself by refusing to accept her share."¹³

Breaking with tradition, he submitted his budget personally to the legislature. Although his requests included increased appropriations for the state government, schools, hospitals, and salary raises for public school teachers and police, he was able to reduce the state tax rate by two cents.¹⁴ Ritchie also engineered the creation of a Central Purchasing Bureau to keep state costs down. For Ritchie, this marked his initial emphasis on rigid economy, a keystone of his administrations. Although rebuffed by the legislature in his attempts to increase legislative representation for

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1926.

⁷ Interview with Walter N. Kirkman, State Purchasing Agent (1921–1948) and personal friend of the late governor, July 30, 1964; *New York Times*, March 28, 1926.

⁸ Albert C. Ritchie to W. W. Baldwin, December 14, 1924, *Governor's Correspondence: Albert Cabell Ritchie, 1920–1935*, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md. (f.d. 14-a). Hereafter cited as *ACR*.

⁹ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 24, 1936.; Sr. Rita M. Helldorfer, "The Gubernatorial Career of Albert Cabell Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, 1920–1935" (Unpublished Master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1954), pp. 3–4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Sun*, Jan. 15, 1920, in "Ritchie Scrapbooks," Scrapbook 39, p. 13, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore. Hereafter cited as *RS*.

¹² *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 20.

¹³ *Inaugural Addresses and Legislative Messages of Governor Albert C. Ritchie, 1920–1935* (Baltimore, n.d.), pp. 10–11. Hereafter cited as *Inaugural Addresses*.

¹⁴ *Sun*, Feb. 4, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 23; *The Baltimore-American*, Feb. 12, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 31. This followed the economizing of former Governor Emerson C. Harrington and the surplus in the state treasury. *Ibid.*

Baltimore City and to enact a 3½ per cent beer bill (a 3 per cent increase in liquor liberality allowed by the Volstead Act), he worked with the legislature to defeat a state prohibition law or "Baby Volstead Act" and state ratification of the suffrage amendment.¹⁵

The stand against women's suffrage could have caused political problems for Ritchie, but he was able to defuse the issue. As early as 1916, consistent with his views on states' rights, he had asserted that women's suffrage was a local problem, not a national one. To allay the mistaken notions of the suffragettes about his views, he declared: "I do not regard the opinion I have as a 'humiliating proclamation,' or as classifying women politically with 'minors, lunatics, idiots, criminals not pardoned.'" ¹⁶

The suffragettes were not convinced by his statements, and pledged to campaign against him and his party as soon as they were permitted to vote. Sensing their ultimate political power, however, Ritchie reversed himself and called a special session of the legislature in September, 1920 after the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified. The sole purpose was to provide additional registration and polling machinery for the enfranchisement of the women. This opportunism did not harm him in future elections.¹⁷ Subsequently he asserted that men should not oppose women voters. Reflecting the male attitude of the time, he believed that women should concentrate on fields for which they were particularly well-fitted: teaching, social work, and public health or nursing.¹⁸

With the defusing of woman's suffrage, Governor Ritchie began to prepare for the 1922 legislature. By 1922, his program consisted of three major areas: reorganization of the administrative branches of the state government, increased legislative representation for Baltimore City, and a reduction in the number of elections. Other goals included improved conservation, schools, agriculture, road construction and labor benefits, as well as a further reduction of state taxes. Few political leaders believed that even one-half of the measures would be enacted. *The Sun*, Baltimore's Democratic paper, cautioned that effective public support tended to focus on a single issue at a session and had rarely sanctioned more than two fundamental changes. Nevertheless, Governor Ritchie, especially with a lopsided Democratic majority in the legislature again, was confident.¹⁹

As early as the 1920 legislature, Ritchie had planned for administrative reorganization by securing an appropriation to make a survey of state agencies.²⁰ Since Maryland had enacted many necessary progressive laws, the reorganization plan was,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 72.

¹⁶ A. C. Ritchie to Miss Mary Jenkins, Secretary, Just Government League, July 6, 1916, *ACR*(8006-18).

¹⁷ *The Baltimore News*, Feb. 19, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 41; *Sun*, Aug. 19, 1920, *RS* 40, p. 13; *Baltimore News*, Sept. 2, 1920, *RS* 40, p. 20; *Inaugural Addresses, 1920-1935*, pp. 3-7.

¹⁸ *Baltimore-American*, May 4, 1923, *RS* 9, p. 19.

¹⁹ *Sun*, January 5, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 7; *ibid.*, March 20, 1921, p. 40.

²⁰ Charles J. Rohr, *The Governor of Maryland: A Constitutional Study* (Baltimore, 1932), p. 127.



Judge Albert Ritchie. *Maryland Historical Society.*

in Ritchie's mind, to be "... the last stage in a development in government which has been going on steadily in Maryland for the past ten or fifteen years. ..."²¹ He believed in its necessity since he felt that he was hampered in his gubernatorial work by a lack of coordination, by inadequate supervision, and by duplicated work in eight-five departments.²² Employing a private firm, Griffenhagen and Associates of Chicago, the Governor used their report as the basis for his drive for efficiency and economy.²³ Believing that the report's recommendations would clash with Maryland traditions, did not emphasize thrift, and placed too much power in the governor, he appointed the Maryland State Reorganization Commission in April, 1921. It was composed entirely of 108 leading Democratic men and women.²⁴ This raised some Republican eyebrows. Ritchie stated that he had influence only with the Democratic

²¹ A. C. Ritchie to E. Brooke Lee, Aug. 24, 1921, *ACR* (f.d. 4 b).

²² *Sun*, April 6, 1921, *RS* 41, p. 69; undated copy of Ritchie's own itemized plan of reorganization, *ACR*(8055-13).

²³ *Sun*, June 18, 1921, *RS* 41, p. 116; Nov. 9, 1922, *RS* 47, pp. 96–97; also see Griffenhagen & Associates, Ltd., "Report on the Organization and Administration of the State Government" (April 15, 1921), *ACR*(8070-4).

²⁴ *Evening Sun*, Aug. 21, 1921, *RS* 42, p. 28; *Sun*, Nov. 9, 1922, *RS* 47, pp. 96–97.

party; he in fact intended the commission, composed of all elements of the party throughout the state, to act as a coalescing agent in the fall 1921 elections.²⁵

The proposals of the commission were drafted into bills and submitted in January, 1922, to the General Assembly. Opposition by a coalition of former officeholders was led by former United States Senator John Walter Smith and the State Treasurer, John M. Dennis. Their true target though was not the reorganization itself, but Ritchie's increasing dominance within the party and the impending abolition of state jobs. His rivals aimed to cripple the bill with radical amendments.²⁶

Losing decisively in the legislature because of Ritchie's smooth working relationship with the Assembly's Democratic leaders and favorable public opinion, the "Old Guard" grumbled that Ritchie had to assume full responsibility should the plan ultimately fail. He was happy to do so, for it would strengthen his hold on the party by selective appointments. The ensuing struggle permitted a victorious Governor Ritchie in 1923 to choose between a second term as governor or a seat in the United States Senate.²⁷

The reorganization consolidated the eighty-five executive and administrative agencies into nineteen departments. The business of the state was simplified as single commissioners replaced many boards and commissions, and the governor was no longer required to serve as an *ex-officio* member of various commissions. Importantly, for Governor Ritchie's program of economy, the plan meant a saving of \$100,000 a year.²⁸

Concurrently Governor Ritchie had achieved victory in another area: greater representation for Baltimore City, which he had unsuccessfully sought in 1920. When the representation bills seemed to be dying in the Assembly, the Baltimore City representatives threatened to combine and fight every administration measure unless the Governor applied pressure on the other legislators.²⁹ The difficult times were not without their political poet laureates. "The Politriad," as he surreptitiously called himself, wrote a canto for *The Baltimore News* entitled: "The Political Reporter Tunes His Lyre,"

²⁵ A. C. Ritchie to Galen L. Tait, Republican State Central Committee Chairman, June 2, 1921, *ACR*(8055-13); G. L. Tait to A. C. Ritchie, June 31, 1921, *ACR*(8055-13); *The Sun*, Jan. 17, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 42.

²⁶ Rohr, *Governor of Maryland*, p. 130; *Baltimore News*, Feb. 14, 1922, *RS* 44, p. 26; *Baltimore-American*, Feb. 15, 1922, *RS* 44, p. 31.

²⁷ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 20, 1922, p. 70 and Feb. 21, 1922, *RS* 44, p. 74; *Baltimore-American*, Feb. 21, 1922, *RS* 44, pp. 64, 71.

²⁸ Rohr, *Governor of Maryland*, pp. 130-131; *Sun*, Feb. 22, 1922, *RS* 44, p. 81. The nineteen departments became the Executive, Finance, Law, Education, the University of Maryland, Militia, Welfare, Charities, Health, Public Works, Motor Vehicles, Conservation, Public Utilities, Industrial Accident Commission, Labor and Statistics, Employment and Registration, Inspector of Tobacco, Board of Censors, and the Racing Commission. *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Sun*, March 17, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 59; *Evening Sun*, Jan. 25, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 73. The constitutional amendments gave Baltimore City two additional Senators, and twelve more delegates to the General Assembly. *Inaugural Addresses, 1920-1935*, p. 28.

The Legislative mill, its grind begun,
 To work gets down, thus stirring up some fun;
 Th'Administration program first calls for
 Keeping the party's pledge to Baltimore;
 Six legislative districts are the pledge,
 But county members soon begin to hedge;
 Too long the counties with alarm have viewed
 The city to be suddenly subdued,
 Tradition still its hoary hold retains
 And hot resentment runs through county veins;
 From county eyes do fiery flashes gleam,
 When word is passed this promise to redeem—
 "What!" All this hate(*sic*, haste) to give to Baltimore
 A perfect 36, not 24
 4 Senators with 6 to supercede,
 As in the party's platform was agreed—
 A promise? Yes, but tell us why the speed?³⁰

The ancient conflict between city and country nearly stifled the vital bills, but again Governor Ritchie's pressure and the Democratic party Assembly leaders' appeals to party unity and loyalty pushed through the necessary constitutional amendment. Some county Democrats voted grudgingly for the amendments, but vowed to campaign against them in the referendum.³¹

With two-thirds of the major platform pledges of 1921 fulfilled, the Governor encountered his stiffest fight in the Fewer Elections bill. It provided that all state, city, and county elections should be held concurrently with the congressional elections, thereby eliminating all odd-year elections and trimming the state's budget. Democratic legislators particularly objected. Since local elections would occur at the same time as national ones, the national issues would seem to overshadow local considerations; not to be forgotten either were the large Republican campaign war chests which would presumably swamp the normally meager Democratic funds. The county Democrats feared particularly that their counties would swing to the G.O.P. as national issues and Republican funds took their toll. Most of the furor developed because the Reorganization Commission and Ritchie had not consulted fully with party leaders. To quiet the tempest, Governor Ritchie called a meeting of local Democratic politicians, which agreed to have state elections for all state offices once every four years, coinciding with the off-year congressional elections.

The bill finally reached the House as a proposed constitutional amendment and passed after a narrow initial defeat (having failed to secure a three-fifths majority by three votes). This pleased Ritchie, as did legislation for a further reduction of four

³⁰ *Baltimore News*, Jan. 29, 1922, RS 43, p. 93.

³¹ *Sun*, Feb. 10, 1922, RS 44, p. 15; *Baltimore-American*, Feb. 10, 1922, RS 44, p. 10.

cents in the state tax rate and a bill creating a Bureau of Child Hygiene.³² With the conclusion of the 1922 legislature, he had completed the work which formed the hard core of all his gubernatorial accomplishments.

His reputation was enhanced further with the voters of Maryland by his stand against President Warren G. Harding during the coal strike of 1922. As the situation became critical in the Western Maryland coal areas, Governor Ritchie granted a \$2000 increase in the appropriations for the Miners' Hospital in Western Maryland. When President Harding called for the governors of all twenty-eight coal-producing states to protect both the property of the coal operators and their workers through the use of the National Guard, Ritchie refused. Noting that the strike had been conducted lawfully and peacefully in Maryland, he was reluctant to burden the taxpayers with the expense of maintaining troops at the mines needlessly.³³ Ritchie chose this as an opportune occasion to proclaim his belief in states' rights and reason:

The traditions of this State are those of a people who have settled such matters as these without the aid of bayonets and rifles. It is nearly thirty years since our militia has been used for a purpose of this kind, and I do not feel, even in the face of federal failure, that I should immediately agree with your assumption that this failure is so complete, that when the problem is turned back to each State, I should without further and more mature consideration give assurance which might lead to filling the mine regions of Maryland with armed troops. . . ., but in the darkest hours of situations like these there often comes the time when with methods other than force men can finally be persuaded to meet and agree for the common welfare.³⁴

The Governor did, however, agree, at the request of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, to establish a Maryland Coal Commission to control and assure equitable coal distribution in Maryland. He also attempted to obtain a settlement of the Maryland dispute through a series of conferences with union mine leaders and the coal operators. However, the "Herrin Massacre" in Illinois in particular turned a suspicious public against the miners, and they lost in Maryland.³⁵

Ritchie was soon preoccupied with political infighting in support of the Frank Kelly machine choice, Howard W. Jackson, as the Democratic nominee for mayor of Baltimore in 1923. Jackson seemed to Ritchie to be a man of integrity with business experience whose attitudes on health, public schools, the merit system, and taxation were most satisfactory.³⁶ The Independent Citizens' candidate, James H. Preston, flayed Ritchie "...as the spokesman and defender of the worst enemy [Kelly] Baltimore has had in my lifetime. . . ." ³⁷ Ritchie rebutted:

³² *Sun*, Jan. 31, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 94; Nov. 9, 1922, *RS* 47, pp. 96-97; Feb. 4, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 125; March 30, 1922, p. 1; March 31, 1922, p. 1; April 14, 1922, p. 6; *Evening Sun*, Jan. 31, 1922, *RS* 43, p. 96.

³³ A. C. Ritchie to Dr. J. Marshall Price, May 15, 1922, *ACR*(f.d. 15-a); *Evening Sun*, July 19, 1922, *RS* 46, p. 52.

³⁴ *Baltimore-American*, July 20, 1922, *RS* 46, p. 57.

³⁵ *Sun*, July 28, 1922, *RS* 46, p. 70; July 30, 1922, *RS* 66, p. 10; Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York, 1959), p. 309.

³⁶ *Sun*, April 6, 1923, *RS* 48, p. 95.



Governor Albert C. Ritchie and his Mother, 1915. *Maryland Historical Society*.

'It is a pity, for Mr. Preston's own sake, that he cannot avoid abusing everyone who disagrees with him, for this trait may again have the same effect on his political fortunes that it had when he ran the last time. However, I am not Mr. Preston's equal in the art of abuse, and so I must leave that field to him.'³⁸

Ritchie's choice, Jackson, won the election.³⁹

³⁷ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1923, *RS* 48, p. 100.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, April 9, 1923, *RS* 48, p. 100.

³⁹ Jackson (Dem.): 74,124; William F. Broening(Rep.): 49,919; Preston(Citizens): 39,042. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1923, *RS*, 65, p. 13.

In the same year, defying Maryland political tradition, Ritchie sought and secured the Democratic party's renomination. By 1923 he had gained control of his party from his weakened foes, former U.S. Senator Smith and State Treasurer Dennis. Democratic leaders wanted to be on a winning team. The Governor was extremely popular and the strength of his record was obvious. Against his Republican opponent, Attorney-General Alexander Armstrong, Ritchie became the first governor re-elected since the Civil War; his margin was 43,000 votes (coming particularly from Baltimore City) which carried with him larger Democratic majorities than in the 1921 General Assembly elections.⁴⁰ In an ensuing and heated battle over the selection of the President of the Senate, Ritchie's candidate, David G. McIntosh, Jr. (Baltimore County), triumphed over William Curran, Baltimore City's choice. Despite embitterment toward Governor Ritchie, Baltimore City's nominee for Speaker of the House, Francis P. Curtis, was selected; this was most fortuitous for the city because county Democrats had determined to give only one leadership position to Baltimore City and because the Speakership was important to patronage.⁴¹ The urban-rural antipathy continued to influence Maryland politics in the 1920's.

Governor Ritchie was essentially an economic conservative, and the entire 1924 Gubernatorial Message to the General Assembly, centering on a Democratic platform pledge to reduce the state tax rate by another three cents by 1927, was budgetary. This brought to more than nine cents the total state tax reduction accomplished during his first two terms.⁴² The major struggle, in fact the sole conflict, of the 1924 legislature concerned increased appropriations for the University of Maryland and its hospital despite Ritchie's plea for budgetary restraint. The University of Maryland, since its enlargement by the 1920 legislature, had followed a policy of seeking continued expansion. In his January 4, 1922 Message to the General Assembly, Governor Ritchie opposed the University's desire to expand its facilities and to incorporate such institutions as St. John's of Annapolis, Washington College (Chestertown), and Western Maryland before the citizens of the state understood the implications of such plans. He questioned the wisdom of such a move when competent, private, small colleges existed in the state. The main purpose of the University, he thought, was its agricultural training. He countered the arguments of those who cited such state universities as Wisconsin by emphasizing that they were the only higher educational institutions in new Western states, while the East Coast had a proliferation of small colleges.⁴³ He also believed that Maryland would be better served by emphasizing

⁴⁰ *Evening Sun*, May 10, 1923, *RS* 9, p. 45; Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 23-36; *Baltimore-American*, Nov. 8, 1923, *RS* 50, p. 207; *Sun*, Dec. 30, 1923, *RS* 50, p. 328. Walter N. Kirkman thought that the bosses followed Ritchie, and not vice versa, because they always wanted to back a winner. Interview with Walter N. Kirkman, July 30, 1964.

⁴¹ *Sun*, Dec. 29, 1923, *RS* 50, p. 324; Jan. 3, 1924, *RS* 24, p. 11; *Baltimore-American*, Jan. 2, 1924, *RS* 24, p. 6.

⁴² Governor A. C. Ritchie, *Maryland: Governor Ritchie, Message, 1922-1931* (Baltimore, 1922-1931), pp. 1-39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.



Harry W. Nice. *Maryland Historical Society*.

elementary and secondary education for the many rather than "... higher education for the comparative few."⁴⁴

The University held that it too had a justifiable case. The Griffenhagen Report of 1921 had noted the many deficiencies of the University: desperate housing conditions, the poor fiscal condition of the schools of pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine, dilapidated buildings (especially the antiquated Maryland University Hospital), and an inadequate library, while the Governor's personally-appointed Committee on State Aid to Colleges expressed opposition to the University's enlargement. In conjunction with their disapproval, Governor Ritchie in his 1924 Inaugural Address urged special aid for the small colleges of Maryland, such as St. John's and Washington College, to enable them to become self-supporting. He admitted that his budget provided for even less than the University's proclaimed essential minimum needs, but he believed that the amount allotted was the maximum the state finances could bear.⁴⁵

Seeking legislative allies, the University of Maryland secured Senator Curran, still

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23; *Sun*, June 18, 1921, *RS* 41, p. 116; also see Griffenhagen, "Report ... on the State Government," Part IV, vol. 1, pp. 174–205; James Petrie Rouleau, "The Governor of Maryland and Education, 1850–1950" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1951), pp. 76–77.

smarting from his defeat for the Presidency of the State Senate. He led the Senate anti-administration forces. The University and their political allies also prompted the alumni to bombard the Governor with telegrams and letters.⁴⁶

Ritchie became piqued at attempts to increase his budget:

It is not an easy task to resist the demands that are being made upon the State Treasury, particularly when so many of the objects are worthy interests, but I feel that the State has about reached the point where, for the present at least, it cannot afford to take on much more.⁴⁷

And,

... after all ours is a common problem—the problem of fixing State expenditures at the point which will enable State affairs to be administered and State obligations to be performed with a union of efficiency, constructiveness and economy.⁴⁸

He further asserted that public opinion, in his view, had not strongly supported the vast sums requested by the University—\$8,289,923 for the next three years.⁴⁹ His own University budget of \$2,849,600 for three years, he noted, provided for increases over past appropriations. He, therefore, notified the press that any additional sums above his own budget, even in the form of a loan, would meet with his prompt veto because it would increase the state's tax rate, which he had pledged to reduce. The issue was not his budget requests of \$2,849,600, which were accepted by the legislature, but additional sums.⁵⁰

His foes seized on the disclosure that the University Hospital was a fire trap because it lacked fire escape stairs. Taking the offensive Senator Curran proposed that a new hospital be built. The Governor, however, began a counterattack with a bill to separate completely the Baltimore and College Park areas of the University by selling the Baltimore property, including the hospital, to private interests. In an unusual appearance before a joint session of the legislature on March 18, 1924, Ritchie acknowledged that he had committed an error in 1920 by approving the merger which put the University hospital and its allied schools under state control. He urged that only the Agricultural College at College Park remain under state supervision. The University hospital primarily benefited Baltimore City rather than the rest of Maryland. Moreover, he maintained, the counties did not profit by the medical school either because most of the graduates were from other states, and the majority of those from Maryland did not return to practice in the counties.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 2, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 54.

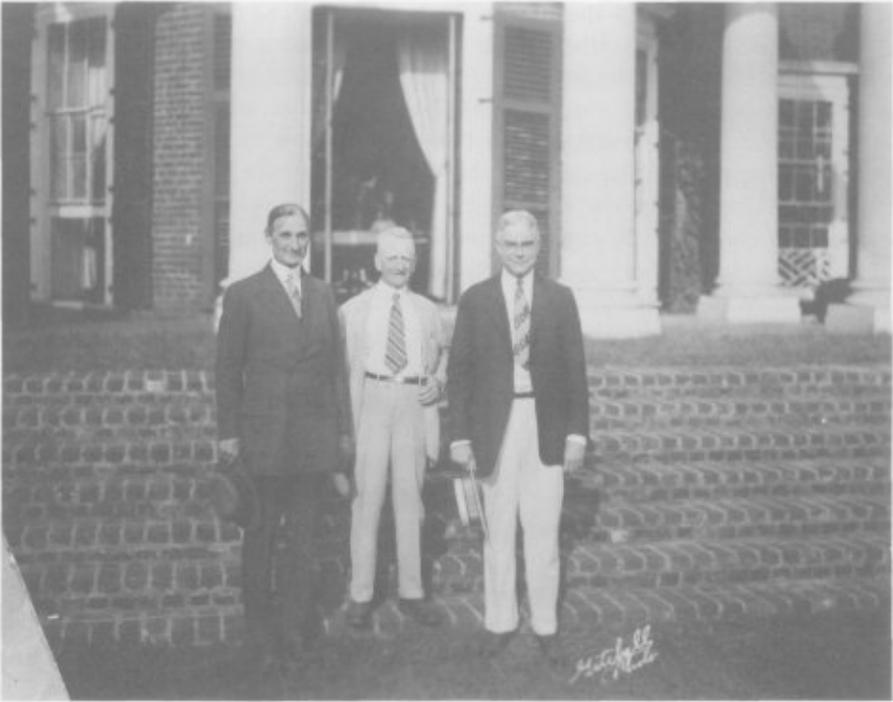
⁴⁷ A. C. Ritchie to Dr. D. C. R. Miller, Feb. 22, 1924, *ACR*(f.d. 15-a).

⁴⁸ Ritchie, *Message, 1922-1931*, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Interview with Walter N. Kirkman, July 30, 1964.

⁵⁰ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 2, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 54; *Sun*, Feb. 13, 1924, *RS* 24, p. 154; A. C. Ritchie to David G. McIntosh, Jr., President of the Maryland Senate, March 28, 1924, *ACR*(f.d. 15-a).

⁵¹ *Evening Sun*, Feb. 19, 1924, *RS* 24, p. 173; Feb. 21, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 3; *Sun*, March 19, 1924, *RS* 24, p. 274; *Inaugural Addresses, 1920-1935*, pp. 9-11.



William McAdoo, Senator Carter Glass, and Governor Albert C. Ritchie at the University of Virginia, 1927. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Disregarding the Governor's plea, the Senate passed by 15–14 the Curran University Hospital bill of \$1,375,000, rather than Ritchie's proposal of \$400,000 in state aid for a new hospital and a separated University. The Governor's budget was also repudiated in the House in the final days of the legislature. The House defiantly passed four appropriations bills, totaling \$2,525,000, which were not included in the executive budget. Ritchie, charging that the Curran forces contemplated "putting him a hole" by withholding final passage of the bills until the last days of the legislature to preclude any compromise measures, successfully vetoed the bills.⁵² Fearing charges that inadequate funds were allotted for the University hospital, the Governor proposed a compromise of \$500,000 for the University hospital if the Board of Regents of the University agreed to a separation. In addition, Ritchie recommended that \$75,000 for fire escapes at the hospital should be raised by a bond issue which was later passed. The attempt at compromise for the building of a new hospital was sty-

⁵² *Sun*, March 26, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 25; March 28, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 37; *The Baltimore News*, March 28, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 32. The four bills were the Curran University of Maryland bill (\$1,375,000), the Roe-Towers Boulevard bill (\$375,000), the Salisbury Normal School bill (\$300,000), and the Allendale Institute bill (\$100,000). *Sun*, March 28, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 37.

mied because of a refusal by the Curran forces to consent to the separation clause requested by Ritchie.⁵³ Nevertheless, he had maintained a balanced budget at the expense of the University despite strong pressures.

With the conclusion of the 1924 legislature, Ritchie attended the tumultuous Democratic National Convention and campaigned hard in the East for John W. Davis. After the presidential election, the Governor embarked on speaking tours to discuss states' rights. In the meantime, speculation concerning his future plans mounted until early in 1926 when he announced his intention to seek re-election to a third term. Yet despite his popularity, he was forced to engage in a primary election with William Milnes Maloy, his opponent in the 1915 Attorney-General primary. Maloy lost as Ritchie's record, prestige, and grip on the Democratic party brought him a comfortable victory by 31,000 votes.⁵⁴ The Republican candidate, Addison E. Milliken, was not a strong contestant, and in the general election chiefly criticized the Governor's approval of the development of the Conowingo Dam and hydroelectric plant on the Susquehanna River as a giveaway to Pennsylvania. With little in the way of a serious challenge Ritchie obtained a third term by a 60,000 vote margin.⁵⁵

During his first two terms Ritchie had not confined himself to the major issues alone. At the inception of his first term in 1920, he had resolved to improve Maryland public schools which the Department of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation rated thirty-seventh of fifty-two states, dependencies, and territories. Calling a conference of the members of the State Board of Education, he persuaded the Board to select Dr. Albert S. Cook as the State Superintendent of Education.⁵⁶ Ritchie and Dr. Cook then planned an educational reorganization of the state public school system, which included higher salaries for teachers, increased aid to high schools, improved teacher training in the Normal schools, and the Equalization Plan (enabling poorer counties to draw upon state Equalization funds to improve their school systems without raising county school taxes above sixty-seven cents per person). As a result, Maryland's rating, according to the Russell Sage Foundation, rose from 43.02 to 65.1 by 1923 alone.⁵⁷

In addition, the Governor sought reforms in mental health and removed the

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 36; *ibid.*, March 29, 1924, p. 39 and April 1, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 51; *The Evening Sun*, March 29, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 37. The hospital appropriation came in the 1927 legislature after the Governor had ascertained that the public wanted it. Interview with Walter N. Kirkman, July 30, 1964.

⁵⁴ *Sun*, Dec. 26, 1924, *RS* 11, p. 353; Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," p. 33.

⁵⁵ In 1923, the Susquehanna Power Company, a subsidiary of the Philadelphia Electric Company, bought land at Conowingo, Maryland. The Federal Power Commission, the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission, and the Maryland Public Service Commission all granted the companies permission to contract to build a dam and to secure permits for the sale and production of electric energy. This electric power was to be transmitted to the Pennsylvania line, and then to the Philadelphia Electric Company. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-46.

⁵⁶ A. C. Ritchie to Dr. Albert S. Cook, State Superintendent of Schools, Sept. 21, 1920, *ACR*(f.d. 6-b); A. C. Ritchie to Mrs. Edgar Brown, May 18, 1922, *ACR*(f.d. 112-b); *Sun*, May 5, 1920, p. 24; *ibid.*, May 24, 1920, *RS* 39, p. 94.

⁵⁷ Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland* (Garden City, N.Y., 1929), p. 638; *Inaugural Addresses, 1905-1923*, pp. 317-318.

criminally insane from prisons to mental hospitals. His budget provided increasing state appropriations for separate facilities for the mentally ill at locations such as Spring Grove, Springfield, and Crownsville.⁵⁸ To combat crime, Ritchie supported the organization of a state police force and the reorganization of the Baltimore City Police Department which was under state control at the time. Patrolmen in Baltimore were now divided into three eight-hour shifts rather than two twelve-hour ones, and their salaries were increased to keep them from remaining the lowest paid officers among the eighteen largest American cities.⁵⁹

The Governor also did not neglect one of Maryland's most significant natural resources—seafood. The problem of shellfish conservation was complicated by the crabbing interests in both Maryland and Virginia. The primary problem arose over the protection of the female sponge crab.⁶⁰ At a Governors' Conference in Annapolis in 1924, both states agreed to pass laws to save the crabbing industries of the Chesapeake from destruction. Maryland passed its law protecting the crab in the grassy state, while Virginia defended the female crab bearing the egg sponge.⁶¹

While consolidating his position in Maryland, Ritchie was also increasing his prestige and exposure nationally because of his political philosophy of supporting states' rights.⁶² Yet although Ritchie assaulted any federal infringement on these rights, he accepted certain forms of federal aid, especially for roads and maternal and infant care. He reasoned that federal money was being used by other states and therefore Maryland should not penalize herself by refusing it.⁶³ At the beginning of his gubernatorial career, he had not emphasized states' rights. But in his second term, "This literal Jeffersonian" as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., called him,⁶⁴ increasingly attacked the Republicans for fostering federal encroachments on states' authority. "Fifty-fifty" federal aid was one of his central targets because state affairs, he believed, were becoming standardized by federal control and supervision, and the states were becoming dependent upon federal aid and losing their own initiative.⁶⁵

Of the many specific areas which Ritchie attacked—federal interference in educa-

⁵⁸ A. C. Ritchie to Dr. A. P. Herring, Nov. 20, 1920, *ACR*(f.d. 111-a); *ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1921; A. C. Ritchie to Dr. Adolph Meyer, Feb. 2, 1921, *ACR*(f.d. 111-a); A. C. Ritchie to Dr. Lewellys F. Baker, Dec. 12, 1922, *ACR*(f.d. 26-c); A. C. Ritchie to E. P. Duval, Dec. 14, 1926, *ACR*(f.d. 111-a); *Inaugural Addresses, 1905–1923*, pp. 322–323; *ibid.*, 1920–1935, pp. 8–9.

⁵⁹ *Inaugural Addresses, 1905–1923*, p. 325; A. C. Ritchie to E. Lee Lecompte, Dec. 28, 1920, *ACR*(f.d. 21-a); *Sun*, April 7, 1924, p. 20.

⁶⁰ The habits of the crab were responsible for the disagreement. The male crab liked comparatively fresh waters with a grassy bottom in which to shed and grow fat; the waters were mostly in Maryland near Crisfield. However, the female preferred the sandy, salt-water section just inside the Capes to lay and hatch her eggs. It was here that Virginia crabbers made most of their money. *Baltimore News*, Feb. 17, 1922, *RS* 44, p. 40.

⁶¹ *Inaugural Addresses, 1920–1935*, p. 14.

⁶² Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954), p. 203.

⁶³ *Inaugural Addresses, 1920–1935*, p. 14; *Sun*, March 26, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 23.

⁶⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1957), p. 284.

⁶⁵ *Inaugural Addresses, 1924–1926*, pp. 4–5.



John H. Dennis. *Maryland Historical Society.*

tion, the federal income and inheritance taxes, the growth of federal bureaucracy⁶⁶—his central target was the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. To Ritchie, prohibition used the law as an instrument for the social control of all people by the social precepts and ideas of certain groups or classes of the people.⁶⁷ The Governor believed that it violated the rights of states to control their own affairs:

The great majority of people in Maryland believe the Volstead Act simply cannot be enforced there. Our people are imbued with a fine traditional respect for law and the established order, and we were effectively solving the temperance question by local option in the various units of the state. Under that method, when the people of a community wanted Prohibition, they actually got it.

The Volstead Act changed all this. Our people in the main regard it as an unnecessary and drastic federal infringement on their State and personal rights. The lack of respect for the law and the actual lawlessness which have resulted are deplorable. The only remedy I see is to recognize that the Volstead Act is destructive of the rights of the States, and to turn the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *Wilmington Every Evening*, Feb. 19, 1925, *RS* 17, p. 20; A. C. Ritchie to U.S. Representative Edgar A. Brown(D-S.C.), Jan. 14, 1926, *ACR*(8002-6); A. C. Ritchie to Archbishop Michael Curley, Feb. 13, 1926, *ACR*(f.d. 13-a).

⁶⁷ *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1924, p. 23; *ibid.*, March 8, 1926, p. 1.

whole question back to the States, so that each may settle it in accordance with the will of its own people.⁶⁸

Before Ritchie had become governor, Maryland was the sixth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment, and most of its counties were “dry” when the Volstead Act arrived. And as governor, he supported the Eighteenth Amendment but only as part of the Constitution. Simultaneously however, he fought a state “Baby” Volstead Act. The Maryland Anti-Saloon League was thus unsuccessful in its attempts because of the opposition of Governor Ritchie and the “wet” areas surviving in Baltimore City and surrounding counties.⁶⁹ Later in 1922, Governor Ritchie carried his opposition to the national level in a Fourteen Governor’s Conference at the White House called by President Harding, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, and Prohibition Enforcement Commissioner Roy Haynes. At this national forum, Ritchie declared the Volstead Act to be unenforceable in, and tyrannical to, Maryland. His anti-prohibition stand earned him some “dry” notoriety: high Methodist Episcopal Church officials accused him of being un-American, an anarchist, and a traitor.⁷⁰ Despite such intemperate attacks, Ritchie again denounced prohibition at the Conference of Governors on Prohibition Enforcement in 1923 as an infringement of states’ rights.⁷¹ Since he could not secure repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, he personally entertained no concrete plans for the repeal or amendment of the Volstead Act itself other than to liberalize the sale of beer and light wines. For him, the fundamental fact still was that each state should solve the problem according to the convictions of its own citizens.⁷² H. L. Mencken, an ardent admirer of Ritchie’s as well as being unsympathetic toward the Anti-Saloon League, wrote:

In some way or other the fame of Maryland has got about the country. Governor Ritchie’s speeches at first sneered at and then unattended, have gradually made their way into the remotest newspapers, and now every literate person in the vast territory I traveled seems to know about him, and about the successful effort of Maryland to put down malignant Methodism. I was asked about him almost as often as I was asked to have a drink.⁷³

Ritchie’s candid call for the reinvigoration of states’ rights was heeded predominantly in the South, where his prohibition stance hurt him slightly, however.⁷⁴ His views echoed a strong following because in the Twenties the need for a vigorous national government had not been universally accepted. Ritchie’s philosophy of states’ rights and his actions against growing federal power as well as his constructive

⁶⁸ Hamilton Owens, “Ritchie of the Free State,” *American Mercury*, VII(March, 1926), p. 284.

⁶⁹ A. C. Ritchie to William A. Marburg, S. S. Nelligan, Waldo Newcomer, and Charles O’Donovan, Dec. 6, 1922, *ACR*(f.d. 24-b); Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York, 1928), p. 113; *Sun*, Sept. 2, 1919, p. 18.

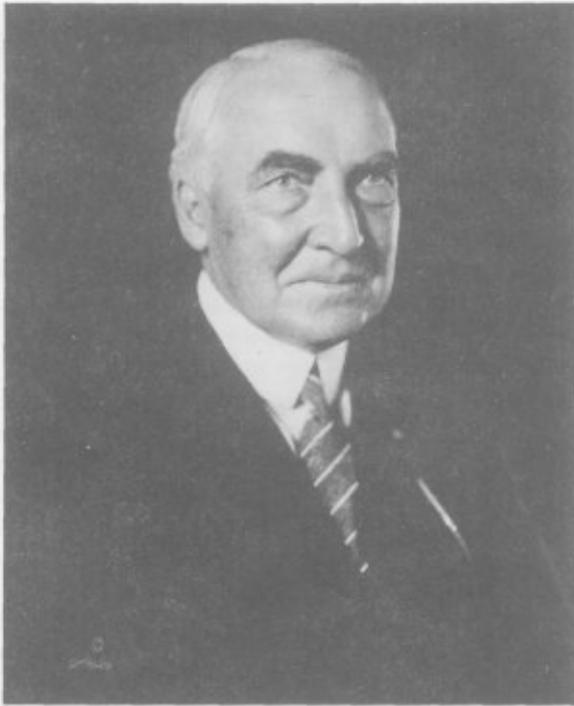
⁷⁰ *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1922, p. 1; *ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1923, p. 20; *Evening Sun*, April 4, 1923, *RS* 48, p. 93.

⁷¹ *Sun*, Oct. 21, 1923, p. 1.

⁷² A. C. Ritchie to Chandler P. Anderson, April 26, 1926, *ACR*(f.d. 24-c).

⁷³ *Evening Sun*, Dec. 6, 1926, *RS* 29, p. 68.

⁷⁴ *New York Times*, March 8, 1926, p. 1.



Warren G. Harding, 1923. *Library of Congress.*

gubernatorial administrations helped to project him as a national presidential candidate. Ritchie was a prospective, but not serious, candidate twice during his first two terms. He began as a favorite son contender; he reached his zenith and ultimately departed as one.

In the 1920 convention he withdrew and urged each Maryland delegate to vote independently. As a member of the Resolutions Committee, he unsuccessfully urged planks criticizing the Volstead Act and calling for the defeat of the proposed Suffrage Amendment. For forty-three ballots Ritchie supported William G. McAdoo, but then he switched to James Cox and asked the Maryland delegates to follow him.⁷⁵

By 1924 the Governor's record of reform and economy and his continuing speeches on states' rights had spread his name nationally. Before the Maryland Democratic Convention was held, William Curran had advocated that the congressional districts, rather than the state convention, name the national delegates. Curran lost and a slate of delegates loyal to Ritchie were chosen and instructed to vote as a unit.⁷⁶ The Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Michael Curley, expressed the wishes of many

⁷⁵ Frank R. Kent, *The Democratic Party* (New York, 1928), p. 448; *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1930, p. 1; *Sun*, July 2, 1920, p. 1; *ibid.*, July 7, 1920, RS 39, p. 121.

⁷⁶ *Evening Sun*, May 22, 1924, RS 45, p. 143; *Sun*, May 23, 1924, RS 45, p. 148.

Free Staters: "I, personally, know of no one in the country more worthy or better qualified to fill the highest executive position or anyone I should prefer to see in the White House."⁷⁷ Worthy and qualified or not, Ritchie's own campaign tactics were those of strict neutrality, and a policy of waiting until the two front-runners, McAdoo and Al Smith, exhausted themselves. He was assured of Maryland's sixteen votes and knew that other states had implied an interest in him as a second choice. The trick was to antagonize no one and to lure no delegates away from any other potential nominees. He urged delegates committed to Governor Al Smith, whom he greatly admired, to remain with "the Happy Warrior" as long as he remained a candidate.⁷⁸ Ritchie wisely recognized himself as only a second choice.

In the balloting, Ritchie never achieved more than his high of 49% on the fifth ballot, predominantly Maryland's sixteen votes and Louisiana's twenty. Although wooed by Smith forces, the Maryland delegation continued with Ritchie for 100 ballots because they were not certain that Smith's drive would be successful. Moreover, Ritchie did not want to antagonize McAdoo supporters, whom he was hoping to gain if McAdoo faltered. This neutrality was unworkable because the principal contenders needed Maryland's votes.⁷⁹ To break the debilitating convention deadlock between Smith and McAdoo, Governor Ritchie and the Maryland delegation originated the "Maryland plan" to release the delegates to vote freely. The idea was accepted by all the candidates at an emergency conference called on July 6. With this agreement, the Convention chose John W. Davis, with Maryland being the first "favorite son" state to support Davis. Ritchie liked Davis because the Democratic candidate opposed federal supervision of education and the Ku Klux Klan.⁸⁰

In his assessment of the election, Ritchie appealed for the entire Democratic party to return its emphasis to the conviction that that government governs best which governs least.⁸¹ After the election, the Governor continued to spread his political philosophy through travel and speechmaking. In 1925, the *New York Times* called Ritchie "... the foremost advocate of the old Democratic doctrine of states' rights in the country. . . ."⁸² His appeal remained particularly to the southern states because of his advocacy of greater dependence on local state government. Yet he himself realized his weak position by praising Al Smith as the outstanding figure in the Democratic party.⁸³

During his first two administrations, he had run seriously as a presidential candidate once. He failed for numerous reasons. Maryland was a small state, with few people and fewer electoral votes. Ritchie himself was not a wealthy man, nor was he backed

⁷⁷ *New York Times*, June 5, 1924, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1924, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Evening Sun*, June 30, 1924, *RS* 45, p. 245; *Sun*, July 1, 1924, p. 6; July 5, 1924, p. 3; July 10, 1924, *RS* 13, p. 117.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, July 7, 1924, p. 1; Oct. 30, 1924, *RS* 11, p. 203.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 11, 1924, p. 5.

⁸² *New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1925, p. 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1926, p. 1; *Sun*, Nov. 27, 1926, p. 3.

by a large group of rich supporters. He had not actively sought delegates outside Maryland, nor had he organized seriously for a campaign. The other candidates had already achieved followings. Even when the deadlock was broken between Smith and McAdoo in 1924, the Convention did not turn to Maryland's "favorite son" but to West Virginia's.

Governor Ritchie's wave of 1924 had washed ashore and been broken on the rocks of the Democratic Convention. The sea of popularity and prestige would send other waves, but they too would be dissipated. On the state level, he would be governor for eight more years beyond 1926, although some scandals would shake his terms. His chances for the 1928 Democratic presidential nomination remained slim despite his speeches against federal expansion and prohibition. He withdrew from the race and threw his ardent support to Al Smith to preserve party unity.

Later in the beginning of the Depression, Ritchie decided to run again for re-election in 1930. There was no Democratic primary fight, and the Republican candidate, William T. Broening, Mayor of Baltimore, attacked the governor on his refusal to accept the federal inheritance tax passed in 1926 and thus the benefit from the 80 per cent return to the states. Although Maryland had finally acquiesced in the provisions of the law, Broening charged that in the interim Maryland had lost \$1,250,000 as a result of Ritchie's stubbornness. Ritchie demonstrated that the U.S. Supreme Court had not ruled the law constitutional until October 22, 1928, and therefore, it would have been unwise to have accepted the act before that decision. Ritchie also had to counter the major charges of neglect resulting from the state roads scandal of 1928 and of a long incumbency in office and monopoly of power. But Governor Ritchie was re-elected by a majority of 70,000 votes. The large election victory was due to the depression and the dissatisfaction with the national Republican administration as well as Ritchie's merits.⁸⁴

Strengthened by his victory and a turn in the tide of prohibition sentiment, Ritchie again was considered as a likely Democratic candidate in 1932. He formally announced his candidacy and expressed a frank desire to become President for the first time in his career. Bernard Baruch preferred him to Franklin D. Roosevelt, but Governor Ritchie was outmatched by James Farley and F.D.R. who had been gathering delegates for two years before the Convention. After Ritchie received only 23½ votes, he pledged support and worked hard for the next President.⁸⁵

Following his collapsed presidential hopes Governor Ritchie surprised all political analysts by deciding to run for a fifth term. But unfortunately his fame and prestige had declined since 1930 because he was unsympathetic to the populace's support of the relief programs of the New Deal. As a result a bitter primary battle ensued, but Ritchie defeated Dr. Charles H. Conley, a Frederick physician, to oppose the Republican nominee, Harry W. Nice, his opponent in the 1919 election. Nice

⁸⁴ Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 47-72.

⁸⁵ Schlesinger, *Crisis of the Old Order*, p. 285; Freidel, *The Ordeal*, p. 225; *Evening Sun*, Feb. 24, 1961, p. 22.



Governor Albert C. Ritchie signing the Lien Bill, April 11, 1929. *Maryland Historical Society.*

assaulted Ritchie's decision to call a bank holiday in March, 1933; this criticism was effective because a large number of Marylanders had been adversely affected. Ritchie, losing by 5,000 votes to Nice, fought a defensive campaign. Many felt that his defeat was a protest against the fifth term and an entrenched political machine. In defeat the Governor retired to private law practice with his former law partner, Stuart S. Janney. Death claimed him on February 24, 1936.⁸⁶

Maryland was a small state in the 1920's and still essentially a southern state faced with no large growing pains and a slow way of life. Its problems were not on a large scale associated with burgeoning industrialism and population. Its people were not torn by divisive and deep conflicts. Its politics was stable and predominantly Democratic, the age of Albert C. Ritchie. While Governor Ritchie achieved significant governmental reforms, e.g., the State Reorganization Act of 1922, and improved state education, health, and conservation, he operated under remarkably opportune conditions and times. Nevertheless, much credit for his success is necessarily due to his own acumen and personality. He used all possible means to do his job, and he sensed the political and popular winds keenly. His personal popularity

⁸⁶ Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 73–90.

was most advantageous; he used this tool, engendered by his reputation for honesty and candor, with adept skill. Utilizing these assets, he was able both to cooperate with and to overpower the political elements and legislators in Maryland. This ensured an effective legislative program and consequently enhanced his popularity. This was not, however, enough to vault him to higher offices on the national level. His basic ideas of states' rights, reform and economy of the first two terms are best summarized in his own words:

The future does not lie with the ultra-conservatives. It lies with those of progressive vision. They may not give us a new heaven or a new earth but at least they can harmonize the old with the new . . . The problem of politics is how to use the new. I believe it can do this by preserving what is tried and true in the old. . . .⁸⁷

During these first two terms, Ritchie tried to practice these ideals and the resultant achievements were important factors in maintaining the governorship until 1935.

⁸⁷ *Inaugural Addresses, 1924-1926*, p. 6.

The Election of 1934: The “New Deal” in Maryland

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THE NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS of the election of 1934 have been extravagantly recorded by New Deal historians. The triumph of the Democrats in this first testing of Roosevelt and his program has been analyzed as the “catalyst” of a sudden leftward shift that produced one of the “significant turning points in twentieth century American politics.” It has been hailed as “the most overwhelming victory in the history of American politics,” a “sensational victory” and “overwhelming endorsement.” Most sweeping of all has been the assessment of braintruster-historian, Rexford Tugwell: “an election like that of 1934 washes out everything that has gone before, proves or disproves everything that has been said, and puts everyone in his place. This was a glorious ratification for Franklin.”¹ Certainly, in an off-year election when the Republicans had lost ten seats in both the House and Senate and retained only seven governorships, the Democrats had won a strong affirmation.

Yet in analyzing the dimensions of the Congressional Democratic sweep and the personal triumph of Roosevelt, historians have almost ignored other key aspects of this off-year election, particularly that “jumble of guerilla contests” revolving around personalities, patronage and local issues in the States.² With a few exceptions, the reach of the presidential popularity, interference and influence and the pull of New Deal relief and recovery measures have yet to be adequately assessed. The need and the problems encountered in probing the 1934 election as a Roosevelt referendum on the state level can be clearly demonstrated in an analysis of the 1934 gubernatorial campaign in Maryland.

In Maryland, the election which brought the vindication of Roosevelt proved the last hurrah for her most distinguished Governor, Albert C. Ritchie. A presidential hopeful in 1924, 1928 and 1932, considered “the Moses of the Wets” in the fight for

¹ Arthur S. Link with William B. Catton, *American Epoch* (3d ed.; New York, 1967), p. 411; Arthur Krock cited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, 1958), p. 507; Dexter Perkins, *The New Age of Franklin Roosevelt, 1932-43* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 25-26; E. E. Robinson, *The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933-1945* (Philadelphia, 1955), 148-149; Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt* (New York, 1957); 333-34. William E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York, 1963), pp. 116-117 is more temperate but also observes, “No one was prepared for the actual results.”

² The “guerilla” characterization is James M. Burns in *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York, 1956), p. 198.

Prohibition repeal, elected four times as Governor, the handsome Ritchie brought to the Free State a rare political prominence. His energetic promotion of states rights and responsibility, his record of business-like efficiency in government, leadership in the wet crusade and three presidential efforts, led political commentator Charles Merz to conclude: "It is not too much to say that in the last three years he has made more speeches in more different parts of the United States than any other man in American life save Lindbergh and Will Rogers." Ritchie was indeed a "household word". He represented a blend of Jeffersonian democracy, Coolidgean efficiency, and wetness; three factors of Democracy of the 20's that would be difficult to translate into the depression 30's. As the *Baltimore Sun* noted when Roosevelt turned back his presidential bid in 1932, perhaps Ritchie was "out of step with too many elements of our national life to have a chance of getting the nomination."³ Yet, if the parallel triumph of the New Deal and demise of Ritchie in 1934 seems temptingly symbolic of the change from the Democratic "politics of provincialism" to the new welfare state, it also provides a study of the perils of too neatly fitting state results into a national pattern.

In 1934, Ritchie's philosophy and record were increasingly challenged. Descended from a distinguished Virginia family, Ritchie had been educated in Baltimore in the familiar turn-of-the-century pattern for a gentleman: private schools, Johns Hopkins University and a European tour for final polish and assurance. Returning to earn a law degree and subsequently to teach at the University of Maryland Law School, Ritchie was described as "almost a manifestation of the Gibson man." Serving as Assistant City Solicitor and then Assistant General Counsel to the Public Service Commission, Ritchie led a fight for cheaper utility rates and built a reputation as the consumers' champion. After laboring a brief time in the political trenches to prove his Democratic credentials to the state bosses, he was rewarded by nomination for Attorney General in 1915. Successful in his first election, the young Attorney General was called to Washington by Bernard Baruch to become one of his bright young lawyers in the WIB. Returning to Maryland duties, Ritchie filed for Governor in 1919. Running on local issues in a difficult Democratic year plagued by questions of the League and problems of inflation, Ritchie built on his record as consumer champion, his efficiency as Attorney-General, and his war record with Baruch; he capitalized on the need of the state and Baltimore party bosses for a victory and their forging of a tenuous party truce. The result was a less than resounding 165 vote triumph.⁴

³ Charles Merz, "Preconvention Portraits, VIII: Ritchie of Maryland," *The Independent*, Feb. 25, 1928, clipping in the Ritchie Papers, Box 28A, MS 710, Md. Hist. Soc. Henceforth cited as RP. See also Neal D. Thigpen, "The Presidential Aspirations of Albert C. Ritchie" (unpublished MA thesis, Univ. of Maryland, 1966), pp. 19, 82-143 and the *Baltimore Sun*, July 2 and 3, 1932. Unless otherwise noted all newspapers cited are published in Baltimore.

⁴ James B. Levin, "Albert C. Ritchie, A Political Biography" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, CCNY, 1970), pp. 8-75; J. Fred. Essary, *Maryland in National Politics from Charles Carroll to Albert C. Ritchie* (2d ed.; Baltimore, 1932), p. 301-302; William M. Bowen, Jr., "The Period of Ritchie and After" in Morris L. Radoff, ed., *The Old Line State: A History of Maryland* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1956), p. 128; Frank F. White, Jr., *The Governors of Maryland, 1777-1970* (Annapolis, 1970), pp. 256-263.



Franklin D. Roosevelt. *Maryland Historical Society*.

From this tenuous beginning, Ritchie built an enviable fifteen year record. He reorganized the state government, presented budgets that enabled him to consistently trim tax rates and simultaneously reformed Maryland's educational system, built a road system that was judged one of the finest in the nation, and instituted conservation policies for the shellfish industry. His model, business-like government resting on the planks of economy and efficiency, brought Maryland into the twentieth century.⁵ At the same time, Ritchie forged a Democratic organization that in spite of highly rancorous city factions and the sulking adherents of the old state organization was labeled "a machine" in 1923. By 1925, the *Baltimore Sun* asserted: "The truth at the present time is that Governor Ritchie is the organization." At his re-election in 1930, the Republicans ruefully lamented the reign of King Albert the IV and ruminated on the prospect of "Ritchie Forever?"⁶

⁵ For Ritchie's record see Joseph Chepaitis, "The First Two Administrations of Albert Cabell Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, 1920-1927" (unpublished MA thesis, Georgetown Univ., 1965) and White, *Governors of Maryland*, pp. 260-262. E. Brooke Lee made the "twentieth century" assessment, interview with E. Brooke Lee, March 23, 1972.

⁶ Edwin Rothman, "Factional-Machine Politics: William Curran and the Baltimore City Democratic Organization, 1929-1946" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1949), p. 62; Levin, "Albert C. Ritchie," p. 117. See also political assessments in *Sun*, April 6, May 6, 9, 10, 1923 and the *BelAir Times*, July 18, 1930.

In a decade of Republican national success, Ritchie's record and philosophy had proved highly attractive to national Democratic leaders. A staunch Jeffersonian Democrat in his belief in states rights and state responsibility, he consistently inveighed against the growing bureaucracy of Coolidge and Hoover in asserting "we are developing into the most overgoverned and least self governing of peoples." In a Menckenesque attack at the Governor's Conference in 1932, he warned against being "inspected and suspected and never respected by your Government." Twice he rebuffed Republican presidential pleas for state cooperation: rejecting Harding's call for national guard protection for the mines in the crippling 1922 coal strike and Coolidge's 1923 request for aid in enforcing the Volstead measure. While his states rights positions were obviously attractive to southern Democrats, his growing leadership in the move to defend personal liberties by repealing the 18th amendment earned him urban support and the title of "the wet hope". By 1924, supporters suggested that he should campaign as a presidential hopeful with a keg of beer and vine leaves in his hair. Available to the party as a presidential choice in 1924, 1928 and 1932, Ritchie's campaign efforts lost to John W. Davis's compromise forces in 1924, yielded before the 1928 convention to the inevitability of Smith and were balked by the intransigency of Al Smith and the Roosevelt-Garner accommodation in 1932.⁷ A gallant loser, Ritchie campaigned vigorously for the Democratic tickets. However, in 1932 the Democratic success and the continuing pressure of the depression posed severe challenges to Ritchie's philosophy and policies in the Free State.

Ritchie's faith held strong. As late as June, 1932, in his commencement address at Washington College he clearly stated his belief in past methods by warning: "Strange temples are under construction and in them dwell strange gods, who beckon obeisance. But the altar of faith which has brought us safely through all our adventures of peace and war still stands and its fires still burn. I for one see no reason for another shrine." Events, however, brought increasing pressure on his policies. As private sources proved inadequate, Baltimore's mayor predicted a city expenditure of over \$3,000,000 in relief by the end of 1932. The president of the Community Fund predicted more gloomily that if the situation in Baltimore continued to worsen, 100,000 would not have the bare necessities by March, 1933. Coal was depressed in Western Maryland. In Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties relief funds were approaching exhaustion. Local appeals arguing local sources were inadequate asked Ritchie for state aid.⁸

⁷ Albert C. Ritchie, "Shall We Govern Ourselves," *Scribner's*, April, 1928 in Box 28A, RP; Thigpen, "Presidential Aspirations," p. 19; Chepaitis, "First Two Administrations," pp. 49-51; Maryland, *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland*, 1922, pp. 141-142; Sister Alice Joseph Rohe, O.S.F., "Press Opinion of a Political Leader: Albert Cabell Ritchie and the Democratic Party, 1924-1932" (unpublished MA thesis, Catholic University, 1967), pp. 68-69; *Sun*, April 27, 1932. E. Brooke Lee felt that Ritchie had his best opportunity and hope for the nomination in 1932, interview, March 23, 1972.

⁸ Washington College remarks in the Baltimore, *Evening Sun*, June 11, 1932. For relief needs see *Maryland Leader*, June 17, July 1, 8, 15, 1933; *Sun*, May 24, 26 and June 5, 7, 1933. Issues of *Baltimore*, the Association of Commerce magazine, Jan., 1930, Feb., 1931 and April, 1932 detail the worsening

Still, Ritchie remained reluctant to use state funds until all other avenues had been explored. He urged business to utilize its statesmanship to attack unemployment; he recommended the thirty hour week. Government's role was to retrench, to avoid heavy taxes. Following his philosophy of state responsibility, Ritchie organized a Governor's Advisory Committee on Unemployment Relief in mid-1932, one of the first in the nation. Sternly opposed to the dole, he also pledged that his administration would allow no one in the Free State to starve. Though Ritchie insisted that local giving should continue to be the major source for aid to the needy, the Governor's Committee arranged to disburse state funds raised by short term borrowing. By January, 1933, the Governor asked a 10 per cent salary contribution from state employees, increased Baltimore's share of the gas tax and motor vehicle funds, and set a bond issue to meet Baltimore's \$3,000,000 in relief needs. Consistently he worked within the limits of the state economy to increase state jobs and to expand state construction. Reviewing the state's efforts, he concluded: "I do not know anything Maryland could do which has not been done in order to accelerate public building and construction work." To Ritchie, private property and enterprise, guided by responsible business, would bring renewed prosperity; the state could prime the pump and issue emergency relief, but its primary recovery contribution would come from solvency and retrenchment. While Ritchie acquiesced to the emergency needs and Roosevelt's early New Deal responses in asserting, "All hands agreed that we ought to get all we can," he also grew increasingly uneasy at federal relief and recovery efforts.⁹

As the 1934 election approached, the impact of the depression, concern over the reluctant New Deal response of Ritchie and the spectre of his permanent tenure in office promised a highly complex and significant contest at the top of the ticket. In the summer of 1933, Mencken speculated:

The weakness of the Ritchie machine lies in the fact that its existence is a standing grief to every member of the Why-Not-Me? Club. . . . I do not predict formally that they will succeed in knocking off the Governor, for he is a more adept politician than any of them and perhaps all of them taken together; all I venture to say is that many of them are ready to try to knock him off if he ever looks to be wobbly.

By March, 1934, the *Sun* listed fifteen possible Democratic and Republican challengers. As late as July 6, Frank Kent still lamented: "the political picture is beginning to resemble the work of a cubist artist."¹⁰

Ritchie's first battle came from the ranks of the Democratic party. Fifteen years of incumbency and appointments left little party room at the top or the bottom. Local bosses and challengers, encouraged by Democratic presidential success in 1932, saw

condition. See also *The Baltimore Federationist*, March 6, 1931. A full clipping file on relief is in Box 47, RP.

⁹ *Sun*, May 24, 1933. See also *The Maryland Leader*, July 16, 1932; Maryland, *Fortieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland*, 1931, pp. 4-5 and clipping file, Box 47, RP.

¹⁰ H. L. Mencken, "The Governorship," *Evening Sun*, July 3, 1933; *Sun*, June 26 and July 6, 1934.

the party "in the temper for a good old-fashioned primary fight . . ." First to contest Ritchie's "governitis contagiosus" was a Frederick physician, Dr. Charles Conley, backed by dissident refugees from the pre-Ritchie machine and pledged to an ending of the "officeholding aristocracy." Southern Maryland Senator J. Allan Coad, denouncing the "fifth term racket," asserted that he did not believe that Ritchie would run since "no individual could be that selfish" and threatened to enter the race if the Governor did. In Annapolis the newly formed Maryland Progressive Democratic League led by Baltimore businessman Clarence Miles suggested six names for Governor and pointedly excluded Ritchie. A more serious threat came from the filing of Baltimore's Mayor Howard Jackson, a consistent hungerer for the Governor's mansion. Running on Ritchie's accolade that he was the best Mayor that Baltimore had ever had, Jackson urged Ritchie to campaign for the Senate.¹¹

Viewing these crowded hustings with alarm was Senator Millard Tydings who had also been rumored as a possible candidate. Deploring a party primary as "little short of suicidal" and backed by rumors from Washington and an announcement by Bernard Baruch that the Administration would welcome the opportunity through Ritchie's Senate candidacy to win an additional Democratic seat, Tydings urged in the last week of May Maryland Democrats in the name of party harmony to unite behind the candidacy of Free State PWA administrator and warm personal friend of Roosevelt, George L. Radcliffe. Encouraged by county leaders from the Eastern Shore, southern and western Maryland, Radcliffe announced that if Ritchie and Jackson declined to run, he would become a candidate; when neither gentleman obliged, Radcliffe, after a four hour conference with Tydings announced his candidacy, hopefully leaving the Senate slot on his ticket open for Ritchie. The Radcliffe platform, Tydings stated, would be upholding the hand of the President.¹²

In the face of these increasingly heavy challenges, Ritchie, proclaiming that the battle had been thrust upon him and that Tydings was out to "get him", asserted that

¹¹ For the crowded hustings see *Sun*, Nov. 2, 1933, *Baltimore American*, Aug. 20, 1933, *Post*, Nov. 3, 1933, *Sun*, Aug. 31, Sept. 26, 27, 1933, Feb. 6, 23, June 23, 1934 and June 23, 1938. See clippings in Box 48, RP. Conley was backed by the followers of former State boss Senator John Walter Smith. Coad in a series of speeches inveighed against the "fifth term racket." Coad Papers, in the possession of Charles Fenwick, Leonardtown, Md. Others mentioned were national committeeman Howard Bruce, Major E. Brooke Lee and national guard leader, General Milton A. Reckard. *The Montgomery Press*, July 28, 1933 and *BelAir, The Aegis*, Jan. 26, 1934.

¹² *Baltimore American*, Aug. 20, 1933; Levin, "Albert C. Ritchie," p. 101. *Baltimore American*, March 11, 1934, *Sun*, May 1, 1934; *Evening Sun*, Feb. 2, 1934. The *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1934 is cited in Sister Rita Marie Helldorfer, S.S.N.D., "The Gubernatorial Career of Albert Cabell Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, 1920-35" (unpublished MA thesis, Catholic University, 1955), p. 76. The Radcliffe ad announcing his candidacy stressed his sound physical health and that he was not a professional politician. *The Aegis*, June 23, 1934, was one of many county papers to carry the ad on the front page. It was generally conceded that Radcliffe's candidacy would hurt Jackson, who had hoped for Tydings' backing, more than Ritchie. *Sun*, June 1 and July 29, 1934 and *Elkton Cecil Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1934. Tydings' move was endorsed by leaders in Calvert, Kent, Queen Anne's, Talbot, Dorchester, Wicomico, Worcester, Somerset, St. Mary's and Harford counties. *Sun*, June 7, 1934 and *The Salisbury Times*, July 11, 1934. As an added inducement to Ritchie, Tydings told friends he would yield his Senate seniority to Ritchie. *Sun*, June 25, 1934.

every Democrat had a right to aspire to office. Indeed, he insisted, an open primary was a better testing of the party choice than the smoke-filled room. At his formal filing June 25, he emphasized: "I want to say, and I hope it will be the last time I have to say it. I would rather be Governor of Maryland than Senator from all of the United States."¹³

In the face of Ritchie's intransigence and realizing that two stop-Ritchie candidates and a harmony candidate who failed to bring unity would only return Ritchie to Annapolis, Jackson urged a challengers' conference to agree on one candidate. Radcliffe's receptivity fed rumors that should Ritchie not withdraw, Jackson might run for the Senate on the Radcliffe ticket. Subsequent discussions, however, proved neither Radcliffe, Jackson nor Conley were prepared to withdraw. Meanwhile, Ritchie pronouncing that the nomination would surely be his talked of Radcliffe on his ticket. Faced with an unbudgable incumbent and markedly unsuccessful in his harmony efforts, Tydings sought a meeting with Ritchie men, E. Brooke Lee and William Walsh, admitted defeat and urged acceptance of Radcliffe on the Ritchie ticket for Senator. A marathon telephone session by Lee brought favorable responses by county leaders and the acquiescence of Ritchie.

In his withdrawal statement, July 8, Radcliffe neatly summarized the impasse and surrender:

Governor Ritchie desires to run for Governor instead of the United States Senate and neither Mayor Jackson nor Dr. Conley has withdrawn, nor do they seem inclined to do so. Thus the harmony sought cannot be obtained and under the circumstances the result of my continuance as a candidate for Governor would further complicate matters without serving either the purposes of my friends and supporters or the Democratic party.

He concluded that he hoped his "long friendship" with FDR might enable him to help both the administration and Maryland.¹⁴

Though Jackson and Conley vowed to remain in the fight, Ritchie was obviously convinced that the major battle had been won. The day after the Radcliffe settlement, Ritchie announced he would leave for a six to eight week vacation in Europe. As he expected, Jackson's support faltered: on the Governor's return he was met by 15,000 well-wishers. At their head was the Mayor.

Left alone to lead the Ritchie dissidents was the least formidable challenger, Dr. Charles Conley. Bitterly he inveighed against the rule of "Prince Albert the Fourth."

¹³ *Sun*, June 9, 23, 26, 1934.

¹⁴ For skirmishing see *Sun*, May 29, June 1, 7, 14, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, July 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 29, 1934; *Evening Sun*, May 29, 31, 1934. Also Rothman, "Factional-Machine Politics," p. 53 and Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," p. 77. Ritchie was so discouraged that he told E. Brooke Lee in June that he had been correct in trying to dissuade him from running. When Tydings subsequently capitulated, Ritchie relinquished his support of Howard Bruce for the Senate slot. E. Brooke Lee's marathon telephoning to county leaders indicated wide support for the Ritchie-Radcliffe ticket. E. Brooke Lee interview, March 23, 1972. Radcliffe's statement was carried in the *Sun* and county papers. See *The Cecil Democrat*, July 14, 1934. Popular prosecutor Herbert R. O'Connor had flirted with the Ritchie and Radcliffe camps and was named for the Attorney General post.



Governor Albert C. Ritchie, *Maryland Historical Society*.

On Ritchie's European departure, he observed that the Governor could "confer with the British King on the divine rights of kings, with Hitler in Germany on the disposal of political enemies, with King Alphonso on a safe and sane road to abdication." Conley urged the Maryland voters to now end the reign and to choose a new dealer and a new deck.¹⁵

A Ritchie victory was widely predicted, but as a *Washington Post* county survey demonstrated, the Conley attack against the Ritchie machine seemed strangely misdirected. The organization was beleaguered in county after county, as young Democrats, impatient "outs" and rival machines jostled for positions. On the Eastern Shore in Wicomico County, ninety-eight Democrats sought local offices; Dorchester was the scene of bob-tailed fighting, every man for himself; Talbot's Democrats were still fighting for leadership after the death of a local chieftain; Queen Anne's incumbent machine was faced by a new Democratic organization of New Deal Democrats. In Baltimore, Washington and Frederick counties, disgruntled factions struggled. In southern Maryland, an anti-Ritchie group was led by St. Mary's Senator Coad.¹⁶

Aided by heated local contests and a top of the ticket fight and in spite of heavy rain in parts of the state, the September primary vote was one of the heaviest in memory. Ritchie compiled a 3-1 margin in Baltimore city, but Conley carried eleven of

¹⁵ *Washington Herald*, Sept. 10, 1934; *Sun*, July 17, 1934 in Box 51, RP. Conley waged a vigorous campaign. At one time, he hired five airplanes and threatened to drop his leaflets on every hamlet in Maryland.

¹⁶ Factional fights are detailed in the *Frederick Daily News*, Aug. 17, 1934, the *Towson, Jeffersonian*, July 27, Aug. 3, 17, 19, 1934, the *Catonsville Argus*, July 27, Aug. 3, 24, Sept. 7, 1934; the *Bel Air Aegis*, Aug. 24, 1934, the *Chestertown Kent News*, Aug. 25, 1934; the *Centerville Queen Anne's Record*, June 28 and July 12, 1934, *The Salisbury Times*, Aug. 13, 1934 and the *Easton Star-Democrat*, June 22 and Aug. 24, 1934.

twenty-three counties, primarily on the Eastern Shore, in St. Mary's in Southern Maryland, and his home county, Frederick. While he did not win any of the major suburban counties of Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Montgomery or Prince Georges or Western Maryland's industrial Washington County, a shift of 2,000 to 2,500 votes in the right areas would have given Conley the nomination in the Democratic state convention. Indeed, the "nobody" had come dangerously close to unseating Ritchie. The New York *Herald Tribune* interpreted the 90,000 Conley votes as evidence of deep New Deal inroads in Maryland. The local *Sun* predicted that the results would make a New Deal "convert" of Ritchie. Indeed, the day after the primary, Ritchie issued an "unexpected endorsement" of President Roosevelt. Subsequently, the first article of the state Democratic platform pledged "One hundred per cent support of the New Deal."¹⁷

Ritchie's Republican opposition was chosen after a bitterly divisive primary struggle. GOP candidates, agreeing with their Democratic colleagues that Ritchie was vulnerable, echoed Conley's cry that Maryland wanted not merely a new deal but a brand new deck of cards. Three major candidates emerged: H. Webster Smith, former chairman of the Public Improvement Commission, who campaigned for new party leadership since the old had lamentably failed to unseat Ritchie; Senator Phillips Lee Goldsborough, former Governor and proven vote getter, who stressed a conservative approach, warned against "new-hatched, untried, fledgling doctrines and theories that conflict with the American principles of civil liberty and justice;" and Baltimore lawyer, Harry W. Nice, the Ritchie foe of 1919. Backed by the old machine leadership and pledging full support of the New Deal, Nice was a surprisingly easy winner in the primary and in the convention vote. Nominated to the tune of "Happy Days Are Here Again", Nice stood on a platform pledged to secure more New Deal benefits for the Free State under his Republican administration.¹⁸

The Maryland Socialists had no such difficulties in making their 1934 slate: Johns Hopkins professor, Broadus Mitchell, would run for Governor; Elizabeth Gilman for Senator. Backed by the endorsement by the Baltimore *Afro-American*, Mitchell pledged state ownership of transportation, the purchase of coal mines, and measures to achieve racial equality. Lashing out at capitalism and Ritchie, he asserted: "His philosophy has been preserved like ancient laces in camphor, to let us see what men thought in days forgotten."¹⁹

While the Republicans stressed the theme of one man rule and seemed convinced

¹⁷ Election results are in the *Maryland Manual*, 1935, pp. 255-256. Press speculation on New Deal repercussions is in *Sun*, Sept. 13, 14, 15, 21, 1934; *Boston Transcript*, Sept. 29, 1934, Box 51, RP. See also *The Observer*, Sept. 15, 1934 and *Sun*, Oct. 28, 1934.

¹⁸ The Republican primary is reviewed in Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 74 and 78. Also *Evening Sun*, April 16, 1934, *Sun*, March 29, 21, 24, June 29, Sept 5, 1934, Box 51, RP. Successful Harry Nice pressured party chairman Galen Tait, an opponent of his New Deal stance, to resign. Tait's acrimony and evidence of factionalism that would plague the Republicans is in the *Kent News*, Sept. 22, 1934 and *The Observer*, Nov. 10, 1934.

¹⁹ *Afro-American*, July 21, 1934; *Sun*, June 19, Sept. 17, 1934; *Maryland Leader*, May 26, 1934.

that if they did not oust Ritchie he would run forever, their other major campaign issue was Ritchie's repugnance to the New Deal. The Republicans continued Nice's primary contention that they could obtain more federal benefits for the Free State. As the *Sun* editorialized, Nice would certainly not shoot Santa Claus. The anti-Ritchie Baltimore *Post* ironically observed: "To find the Republicans cashing in on the popularity of a Democratic President and to find the Democrats, that is, the Ritchie organization Democrats weakened by the success of their party nationally, would be a curious paradox. Yet it is one which the Annapolis administration seems to have been at pains to bring about and which the Republicans would be foolish not to formalize."²⁰

The dangerous impact of the "more New Dealish" than the Democrats issue was obvious as Ritchie and Tydings opened the Baltimore campaign and pointed out "a vote for the Republican ticket will be a great slap in the face for the President of the United States." Ritchie made a nationwide broadcast for the NRA, and Ickes praised the Maryland PWA as the most efficient and conscientious in America. James Farley asserted Ritchie was "one of the most outstanding Democrats and Maryland one of the best governed states." Radcliffe and Attorney General candidate Herbert O'Connor, talking of Ritchie's close cooperation with the New Deal, stumped the state. Additionally, Tydings and Radcliffe announced after an October meeting with Roosevelt that PWA funds would be available to modernize the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal. Figures on New Deal benefits to Maryland, released by the Democratic National Committee for election use, cited \$124,377,855 funneled to AAA, FERA, CCC, PWA, HOLC, and RFC in the Free State. Tydings asserted 6,000 Baltimore homes had been saved by HOLC; while Maryland farmers were also obtaining their share of federal financing. As the *Cecil Democrat* summarized the party thrust: "A vote for Governor Ritchie and the entire Democratic ticket will be a vote upholding President Roosevelt and his policies."²¹

In addition to stressing cooperation in the relief and recovery measures of the New Deal, Ritchie pledged old age pension and insurance bills and "comprehensive Maryland humanitarian relief." His cautious and conservative approach to Free State relief needs was fresh in the minds of voters after a summer crisis posed by the problem of raising \$9,000,000 of the estimated \$18,000,000 needed relief funds. Harsh prodding by Harry Hopkins for a specific Maryland program before he would release federal funds had been well publicized. Campaigning Socialist Mitchell charged:

²⁰ The Baltimore *Post*, June 6, 1933, Box 48, RP; *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 1934; *Sun*, Sept. 28, 1934 in Box 51, RP. Nice's New Deal position was cited in the *New York Times*, Sept. 28, the *Boston Transcript*, Sept. 29 and the Portland (Me.) *Evening News*, Box 51, RP. The latter speculated that Maryland was probably reading the Maine New Deal results.

²¹ Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 78-86. See also the *Sun*, Jan. 9, 1934, Box 48, RP and the *Evening Sun*, Oct. 19 and *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 1934, Box 51, RP. County coverage of the New Deal issue is obvious in the BelAir *Aegis*, Aug. 17, Oct. 19 and 26, 1934 and the Elkton, *Cecil Democrat*, Oct. 20, 1934. Release of New Deal figures for use in the campaign was cited by the *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 1 and the *Sun*, Oct. 28, 1934.



Frank R. Kent. *Maryland Historical Society.*

"He learned slowly. He moved timidly. People starved to death in our counties while he hesitated." The Democrats countered that perhaps a thousand Marylanders had been saved from starvation by relief funds provided by the Ritchie administration.²²

At the same time that Ritchie's relief efforts were under fire, the economy of his Administration, always a campaign boast, was attacked. Voters' memories were jogged in the primary campaign by state Senator J. Allan Coad's contention that the Ritchie budget of 1931 had carried the largest schedule of expenditures the state had ever undertaken. In the legislative session of 1933, Coad asserted that his efforts had forced Ritchie to trim \$3,000,000 from his budget. Candidates Conley, Webster Smith, and Harry Nice all campaigned on a "we-can-do-it cheaper" promise, particularly stressing the fat they would cut from the "hangers on" in the bureaucracy.²³

²² *Sun*, Oct. 11 and *Evening Sun*, Oct. 17, Box 51, RP; *The Somerset News*, Sept. 21, 1934. Mitchell's statement and a running critique of Ritchie's relief efforts is in the *Maryland Leader*, July 16, 1932 and June 17 and July 1, 16, 1933. For relief clippings see Box 47, RP.

²³ Coad pamphlet containing clippings on the legislative budget fight is in the Coad Papers. See also his charges in *The Salisbury Times*, Oct. 31, 1934.

In other economic issues, the GOP asserted that Ritchie had bungled the bank crisis of 1933 and had favored banks headed by political friends, the failed \$100,000,000 Baltimore Trust Company, the Union Trust Company and the Title Guarantee Company. In defense, Ritchie cited the troubled condition of banking throughout the country and asserted that the Maryland bank holiday by preceding the federal one had saved Maryland's little depositors. As for the charge that he jeopardized Maryland's funds by depositing \$2,500,000 in failed state banks while placing only \$250,000 in federal banks, Ritchie pointed to the healthy sales of state bonds as testimony to Maryland's fiscal probity.²⁴

Racial issues also became significant on the Eastern Shore and in Baltimore city. Paradoxically and simultaneously Ritchie had succeeded in alienating white shoremen and black voters in Baltimore. From 1931–1934, the shore witnessed a spate of racial lynchings. Local refusal to bring indictments in a Princess Anne case, led to Ritchie's dispatch of 300 national guardsmen to make arrests for the state. A furious populace had threatened attacks on Attorney General Preston Lane and Ritchie. September racial violence in Princess Anne indicated tempers had by no means cooled. Viewing the weak Ritchie totals in the primary, the *Salisbury Times* observed the obvious: Ritchie must be "re-sold" to the Democrats of the Eastern Shore. Meanwhile the *Afro-American* editors advised Baltimore's blacks not to vote for a Governor who would reappoint Police Commissioner Charles Gaither, whom they considered insensitive on racial issues. Ritchie's campaign pledges to increase funds for Morgan College and to build a unit for the feebleminded at Crownsville state hospital only further angered the *Afro* when it was revealed that the Crownsville head would hire no black nurses for the facility.²⁵

Keeping Ritchie on the defensive on a wide spectrum of issues, Republican Nice pledged to reduce the state auto license fee from \$9 to \$2, promised a probe of the State Roads Commission, in current difficulties in meeting bills and commitments under the heavy demands for public works, and raised the issue of Department of Motor Vehicle head E. Austin Baughman's approval of salary increases while simultaneously allowing solicitation for "voluntary" contributions for Ritchie. Charging the Nice campaign was verging on the "picayune," Ritchie reversed the salary increases and asserted that if elected, Nice's \$2 license fee would jeopardize

²⁴ *Sun*, Nov. 2, 1934; *Evening Sun*, Oct. 9, 1934; *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 1934, Box 51, RP. The bank crisis is fully detailed in Joseph T. Elvove, "State Bank Failures in Maryland" (unpublished MA thesis, Univ. of Maryland, 1936), pp. 24–36 and Charles A. Hales, *The Baltimore Clearing House* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 138–167. Leading Democrats involved in banking difficulties were John M. Dennis, President of the Union Trust Company, Howard Bruce, national committeeman, leader of the Baltimore Trust Company, and State Senator Emory Coblentz, President of the Central Trust Company of Frederick.

²⁵ Lynching statistics are in Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book*, (Tuskegee, 1923) and in the Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore. Henceforth cited as VFEP. For Armwood lynching case see the *Maryland Leader*, Oct. 21, 1933 and the *Sun*, Oct. 21, Nov. 28, 1933, Feb. 22, 1934; *Evening Sun*, Oct. 23, 1933 and *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1933. Pre-election violence was noted in the *Afro-American*, Sept. 15, 1934. *The Salisbury Times*, Sept. 14, 1934. For *Afro-American* coverage of issues for black voters see June 2, Aug. 18, Sept. 15, 29, Oct. 13, 20, Nov. 3, 1934.

Maryland's matching funds for federal road appropriations totalling \$2,000,000. Ritchie, "peculiarly on the defensive" and stung increasingly by Nice's promises, complained "We Democrats have no magic and no trick articles to peddle. We are interested only in giving the best government of which we are capable and in recognizing the claim of humanity."²⁶

Stumping the state, however, Ritchie attempted to keep pace with GOP charges and promises. In Elkton, Nice and Ritchie traded roads pledges. On the Eastern Shore, the Governor proposed a massive program to rehabilitate the oyster industry. A goal of five million bushels a year was set and seeding and transplanting pledged at a cost of \$500,000, hopefully with federal assistance. Additionally, the Governor promised reorganization of the Conservation Department, tacitly indicating he would drop his unpopular Conservation Commissioner, Swepson Earle. In Prince Georges County, Ritchie stated that money from a "special fund" would be utilized to meet the needs of dependents of volunteer firemen killed on duty. Aware that the Republican ticket included a past commander of the American Legion and a state commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Ritchie matched the GOP pledge to appoint a veterans' service officer to help Free State veterans gain full benefits.²⁷

During the final week of campaigning, the more sensational issue of crime was raised by Baltimore's political-moral watchdog, Mrs. Marie Bauernschmidt. Secretary of the Public School Association since 1920, Mrs. Bauernschmidt's radio endorsements, awaited and cherished by the candidates, were an election phenomenon. Against a background that featured the shooting of Dillinger, Pretty Boy Floyd and Bonnie and Clyde and the Hauptman trial, Mrs. Bauernschmidt scored Ritchie for the appointment of Jack Pollack, who had a troubled record, to the State Athletic Commission and denounced the influence of New York gambler, "Coney Island Whitey" in Baltimore city Democratic politics. Again on the defensive, Ritchie noted that Baltimore was led by an incorruptible police chief, Charles Gaither, and incorruptible prosecutor Herbert R. O'Connor. The city had no Al Capones, Dillingers or business racketeers. On the contrary, Ritchie observed, the underworld, hoping that Baltimore might become a wide open town, favored Nice.²⁸

As the campaign, Maryland's "most spirited in a generation," came to a close, the columnists and pundits saw a divided state. Though the Democrats led the Republicans two to one in registration and were conceded Baltimore city, the Democrats acknowledged that the counties might fall to the GOP by 20,000 votes. The continued intransigence of Democrat Conley, the restless county factions, the

²⁶ Rothman, "Factional-Machine Politics," p. 99; Helldorfer, "Gubernatorial Career," pp. 78-86; *Sun*, Oct. 16, 25, 30, 1934 and *Baltimore American*, Sept. 30, 1934, Box 51, RP. The Elkton, *Cecil County Star*, Oct. 19, 1934.

²⁷ *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 2, 1934; *Kent News*, Nov. 3, 1934; *Washington Herald*, Oct. 16, 1934; *Sun*, Nov. 4, 1934, Box 51, RP; *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 3, 5, 1934.

²⁸ *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 1, 1934; *Sun*, Nov. 1, 2, 3, 1934; *Evening Sun*, Oct. 31, 1934, Box 51, RP. Rothman, "Factional-Machine Politics," p. 99. Nice claimed that a whispering campaign was mounted attempting to link him to Nazi sympathies. *Sun*, Nov. 5, 1934.

GOP defections by its defeated factions were all imponderables. County endorsements for Ritchie came from the *Queen Anne Times*, *The Jeffersonian*, *The Aegis*, *Mountain Democrat*, *St. Mary's Beacon*, *The Cambridge Record* and *Kent News*. The powerful *Sun*, as it had in all of his gubernatorial contests, supported Ritchie on the basis of his experience and concluded a vote for Nice could only be a blind gamble: "Mr. Nice is one of the pleasantest of men and his intentions are good but what more can be said." On the other hand, Nice, backed by the *Baltimore Post*, predicted a victory, asserting: "It is Kismet: it is fated to be so."²⁹

In the final voting, Nice edged Ritchie 253,813 to 247,664. He carried every county but Montgomery, Prince Georges, and Baltimore, which he lost by only 487 votes. At the same time Radcliffe was trouncing Republican rival Joseph I. France 264,279 to 197,642, and Herbert O'Connor was beating his opponent for Attorney General 280,957 to 177,689. Radcliffe's Baltimore plurality was 44,000; O'Connor's a stunning 79,000, while Ritchie's hovered at 20,000. A six man Democratic delegation was returned to Congress. In the House of Delegates, the Democrats gained three seats. While in the Senate they lost five, three were in areas where the party was traditionally hard pressed. In county after county, local papers reported heavy voter turnouts, sweeping victories by the local ticket and a Ritchie defeat. As the *Sun* realistically concluded: "Nice is entitled to say he owes his election to his own enterprise and efforts and found himself on the crest of a wave of revolt vs. Governor Ritchie."³⁰ Ritchie's fall was editorially noted in the *New York Times*, *Houston*, *St. Louis*, *Boston* and *Chicago* dailies.

In precise evaluations, the significance of Democratic defections and family squabbles was frequently cited. The Conley forces in Frederick were considered silently sympathetic to Nice and Frederick city fell to Nice by five thousand votes. Baltimore, however, was judged "the slaughterhouse." The *New York Times* concluded that jealous rivals, including the disappointed Jackson forces, had knifed Ritchie: "To an outsider the result looks like a game of cutthroat politics, the revenge and opportunity of disappointed rivals." Restless Democratic office seekers apparently were willing to let the Republicans win the Governor's mansion in 1934, to recapture it in 1938 without Ritchie.³¹

²⁹ *Sun*, Oct. 12, 18, 1934; *Washington Post*, Nov. 4, 1934. Editorial backing is collected in Box 51, RP. Registration figures carried in the *Sun*, Oct. 11 and Nov. 4, 1934.

³⁰ Election returns in *Maryland Manual*, 1935, pp. 266-273. Ritchie's Baltimore city total dropped over 37,000 votes from 1930. For voting percentages see Evelyn L. Wentworth, *Election Statistics in Maryland, 1934-1958* (College Park, Md., 1959), pp. 4-7. Legislative shifts are covered by the *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 9, 1934. County press analysis of the vote is in the *Bowie Register*, Nov. 8, 1934; *The Jeffersonian*, Nov. 9, 1934; *The Aegis*, Nov. 9, 1934; the *Cambridge Democrat & News*, Nov. 9, 1934; *The Kent News*, Nov. 10, 1934; *The Cecil Democrat*, Nov. 19, 1934. The *Sun* conclusions are in Nov. 9, 18, 22, 1934 issues.

³¹ The Democratic defection was observed in the *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1934 and the *Westminster Times*, Nov. 16, 1934. See also Henry W. Kirwin, *The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Connor* (Westminster, Md., 1962), p. 161. An interview with E. Brooke Lee, March 23, 1972, corroborated the restlessness of the Democrats.



George L. Radcliffe. By Stanislaw Rembski, 1957. Owned by the *University Club, Baltimore*.

The New Deal issue was seen as crucial by others. The *Towson Union News* analyzed the Nice victory: "Maryland had become not only a 'Free State' but almost an outlaw State, and Maryland Democrats found themselves in a position of . . . being loyal to a fantastic Free State, and a sort of local Democratic Do-Do Party left behind by the rest of America in its march ahead." The *Kent News* agreed that Ritchie's "lack of ardor" in supporting the "remarkably popular New Deal" had hurt. Yet the "New Deal" was utilized with special local emphasis obvious in calls for a new dealer and a new deck. The anti-Ritchie *Baltimore Post* editorialized the connection that was consistently made during the primary and general campaigns: "What we want here in

Maryland, as in the national government, is the New Day and the New Deal. But we shall never get them until at Annapolis there is a New Dealer."³²

Additionally, the wet-dry issue, which had split Maryland Democrats throughout the 20's and had been a helpful source of urban votes for Ritchie, was dissipated with the repeal of the 18th amendment. Yet while the urgency of the wet voter had vanished, the rancor of the defeated county dry remained. Maryland's repeal in 1933 led to a series of local option contests in 1934. Additionally, local concerns at drunken driving problems, carried in the county press, may have hurt the chances of the former "wet hope."³³

Race and the lynching issue were seen as key by the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. Ritchie's call out of the national guard still rankled on the Eastern Shore. Attorney General Lane, who declined to stand for reelection, pleading the press of private business, was also sensitive that his presence on the ticket might hurt Ritchie. Yet, in 1930, Ritchie had lost Dorchester and Wicomico counties and the decline was only slight in 1934. Conversely, the *Afro-American*, observing that 2,722 votes would have made the difference, stated that Ritchie's fifteen year history of ignoring black requests had proved highly damaging. In some Baltimore Negro precincts, Ritchie received as little as 5 per cent of the vote.³⁴

Additionally, organized labor claimed that it was Ritchie's primary grave digger. The powerful Baltimore Federation of Labor, angry at Ritchie stands against the federal child labor amendment had promoted a nationwide labor political boycott of his candidacy for the presidency in 1928 and 1932. At his defeat in 1934, the Secretary of the Baltimore Buildings Council exulted: "We defeated Ritchie," and, righteously asserted, "The fact is that during the entire fifteen years of Ritchie's administration nothing has been done in favor of labor except that which has been extracted by force."³⁵

Yet of all the reasons advanced, the New Deal, Democratic defections, race, wet-dry, labor, the most universally accorded cause was longevity and the cry of "too long". There were several variations. The North Carolina *Asheville Citizen* claimed Ritchie was defeated because many Marylanders, wearied of hearing how good he was, wanted to change to see what it would be like. The New York *Sun* agreed, while the Detroit *News* compared it "with the Athenians turning out Aristides through their weariness at hearing him called the Just." Locally, the friendly BelAir *Aegis* concluded that the major obstacle to a Ritchie victory had been four terms in office: "Boiled down to a final analysis this was the only real objection which most voters

³² Cited in the *Westminster Times*, Nov. 16, 1934. *The Kent News*, Nov. 10, 1934. *The Baltimore Post*, March 3, 1933.

³³ The *Westminster Times*, Oct. 12 and 19, 1934. Frederick and Carroll counties were two that had option contests. The Towson *Jeffersonian*, June 15, 1934, indicated continuing concern for drunken driving in Baltimore County.

³⁴ *Afro-American*, Nov. 10, 1934; *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Nov. 9, 1934.

³⁵ *Maryland Leader*, Nov. 17, 1934. Nice raised the labor issue late in the campaign, *Sun*, Oct. 23, 1934. See also *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 5, 1934.

expressed to the Governor, but it was an unanswerable one." The *Cumberland Daily News* concurred: "Truth to tell, Maryland was tired of Richie and this is the bald fact."³⁶

Maryland's election of a New Deal Republican and the toppling of her most distinguished Governor, a less than ardent Administration supporter, fit well the 1934 electoral pattern of a popular vindication of Roosevelt's programs and pledges. Symbolically, this election would certainly indicate a changing of the guard in Maryland's Democracy and in the nation's. However, the confluence of local conditions and issues in the Free State in 1934 underscores the complexities of a Roosevelt-Ritchie interpretation. The summation of Tydings seems both more valid and encompassing: "There were just too many barnacles on the good ship Ritchie for it to have survived the hazards of another battle for the governorship."³⁷

³⁶ *Detroit News*, Nov. 11, 1934; *Asheville Citizen*, Nov. 9, 1934, Box 51, RP. *Frederick Daily News*, Nov. 8, 1934; *Cumberland Daily News*, Nov. 9, 10, 1934; *The Aegis of Belair*, Nov. 9, 1934.

³⁷ Cited in Kirwin, *Inevitable Success*, p. 161. In his retirement Ritchie became increasingly hostile to the New Deal and drifted to the Liberty League. Thigpen, "Presidential Aspirations," pp. 156-160. Clipping file, Box 51, RP.

Maryland Press Reaction to the Roosevelt-Tydings Confrontation

PHILIP A. GRANT, JR.

ON AUGUST 16, 1938 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, holding a press conference at the White House, announced his decision to oppose the renomination of United States Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland. Quoting an editorial which recently had appeared in the New York *Evening Post*, the President agreed that Tydings was among the Democrats, who, "after giving lip-service to the New Deal in 1936, turned around and knifed it in Congress in 1937 and 1938." At this time Roosevelt also endorsed the candidacy of Congressman David J. Lewis, an unwavering supporter of the New Deal and Tydings' principal challenger in the September 12 Democratic primary.¹

A veteran of nearly a quarter century of public service, Tydings in 1938 was completing his second term in the Senate and had never experienced defeat in his political career.² The President's August 16 announcement was to inaugurate one of the most exciting and acrimonious chapters in Maryland's entire political history. The contest between Roosevelt and Tydings soon became Maryland's most celebrated news story of 1938. Indeed many Maryland newspapers, preoccupied with the Democratic senatorial primary, tended to ignore national and international news during the four week period between August 16 and September 12.

On August 21 Senator Tydings issued a dramatic appeal to the citizens of Maryland over statewide radio. Insisting that "the sovereignty of our State, the right of our people to pass judgment on their representatives, without fear, intimidation or outside interference" was being called into question, Tydings contended that he was "running against the power of the Federal Government directed against me by the Chief Executive and his advisers." The Senator continued:

Fellow Marylanders, this fight, this contest is your fight and your contest. I am confident that on September 12 the people of Maryland will act, and act decisively, to let the Federal

¹ Press Conference #476, August 16, 1938, "Press Conferences of the President, 1933-1945," Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, PPF 1-P, X11, pp. 23-30.

² Prior to entering the Senate in 1927, Tydings had served in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1915-1921, State Senate, 1921-1923, and House of Representatives, 1923-1927. Clifford P. Reynolds, comp., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, 1961), p. 1736.

Administration and all the people of the country know that the Free State shall remain free; that Maryland's traditional rights will be safeguarded and preserved.

Concluding his radio address, Tydings firmly predicted that "Maryland will not permit her star in the flag to be 'purged' from the constellation of the States."³

As early as August 24 the *Washington Post* reported that the "belief persisted" that the President was planning a visit to Maryland in order to assist the candidacy of Congressman Lewis.⁴ On August 26 the *Baltimore Sun* observed that Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley's alleged advocacy of direct presidential involvement reinforced the belief that Roosevelt would "invade Maryland in pursuit of the political scalp of Senator Millard E. Tydings."⁵ On August 27 the Lewis campaign staff issued a press release indicating that the President would appear in Maryland in the near future.⁶ Two days later the White House confirmed that the President would visit Morgantown in Charles County on September 4 to inspect the site of a proposed bridge over the Potomac River and that on Labor Day, September 5, he would speak at Denton, the seat of Caroline County, on the Eastern Shore.⁷

During the days immediately prior to the President's arrival, the Maryland press provided detailed news coverage on his attempt to defeat Tydings. With very few exceptions, Maryland newspapers were opposed to Roosevelt's open intervention in behalf of Lewis.

The *Cumberland Times*, western Maryland's largest evening newspaper, was appalled that Roosevelt was "going entirely out of his line of duty to spectacularly enter one state for the purpose of telling the people of that state whom they should defeat." Regardless of "how dictatorially, how emphatically, or how often" the President urged the defeat of Tydings, the *Times* rejoiced that no voter of Maryland would be forced to comply with his directive. The *Cumberland* publication analyzed the situation as follows:

... The power of the Presidency is very great. But it has not yet reached the point where it can force the people to vote as the President may tell them. Hitler with his 'purge' orders can do that in Germany, but it cannot be done in America—not yet. . . .

Expressing grave concern over Roosevelt's "invasion or attempted invasion of the rights of the people of this free state," the *Times* affirmed its belief that the citizens of Maryland and all other states should be "morally, and socially, as well as legally free" to choose their representatives in Congress.⁸

The foremost daily publication on Maryland's Eastern Shore was the *Salisbury Times*. Certain that a great majority of the residents of the Eastern Shore considered

³ *Sun*, Baltimore, Aug. 22, 1938, pp. 1-2.

⁴ *Washington Post* Aug. 24, 1938, p. 1.

⁵ *Sun*, Aug. 26, 1938, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1938, p. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1938, p. 1.

⁸ *Cumberland Times*, Sept. 4, 1938, p. 4.



Millard E. Tydings. *Maryland Historical Society.*

Roosevelt's visit "ill-timed and ill-advised," the *Times* surmised that the visit was "conceived in a frenzy engendered by fear" that Lewis would be soundly defeated by Tydings. The Wicomico County daily acclaimed Eastern Shoresmen as the "frienliest people on earth," but bluntly warned the President that "behind our open armed hospitality is an independence that has existed and grown since long before the days of the Revolution."⁹

Many of the Eastern Shore's weekly publications expressed opinions on the President's forthcoming visit. The Chestertown *Enterprise* commented that among Democrats there seemed to be "a genuine and unshushed resentment" against Roosevelt's involvement in the Maryland primary and foresaw that the President's visit "will have just the opposite effect of that desired."¹⁰ Observing that Roosevelt was "anywhere but where he should be," the *Cecil Whig* accused the President of

⁹ *Salisbury Times*, Sept. 3, 1938, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Chestertown Enterprise*, Aug. 31, 1938, p. 1.

“attending to other people’s business.”¹¹ The *Federalburg Times*, charging that Roosevelt was using the power and prestige of his office for political purposes, regretted that “the presidency had degraded to such a low level that we must harbor interference from Washington to settle a state primary.”¹² Insisting that it was “unfair” for Roosevelt to come into Maryland and attempt to influence the electorate against Tydings, the *Democratic Messenger* concluded: “We in Maryland do our own thinking and vote as we prefer.”¹³ The *Worcester Democrat* analyzed the President’s imminent visit as follows:

The people of the State of Maryland are facing a political situation that is indeed new—new, and in a way, humiliating. It is new, in that it is unheard of interference by the Chief Executive of the Nation into a state’s private affairs; and humiliating that the President of the United States should insinuate the people of this old sovereignty do not know their own minds.¹⁴

Disenchantment over the President’s involvement was by no means confined to the Eastern Shore. Many weekly newspapers throughout other sections of Maryland were decidedly critical. The *LaPlata Times-Crescent*, acknowledging that the President had a right to come into Maryland to express his views, stressed that the “humblest citizen of the land has the inalienable right to disagree with the President’s policies and proposals” and that “it is all the more important that the same right be maintained by a member of the United State Senate selected by the people of a sovereign state as their spokesman in that august body.”¹⁵ Editorializing that if Roosevelt was coming “solely for the purpose of telling the voters not to renominate Senator Tydings,” the *Democratic Ledger* hoped that he would change his plans and defer his visit until after the primary. The *Ledger* tartly declared: “We are capable of settling our own internal affairs and we do not ask the aid of any man from without the State, no matter how important he may be.”¹⁶ The *Emmitsburg Chronicle* advised its readers to decide whether or not Maryland deserved “to remain literally ‘The Free State’ or whether we in ‘The Free State’ will stand for outside interference and dictation in the choosing of our representative in the Senate of the United States.”¹⁷ Confident that Maryland Democrats would rebuke the President’s “political intrusion,” the *Montgomery County Sentinel* stipulated that it was the very essence of our government “that there be a vigorous minority to act as a check reign on the administration.”¹⁸ The *Harford Democrat* predicted that the success or failure of Roosevelt’s attempt to defeat Tydings “may well decide whether democracy is to continue, or whether the American

¹¹ Elkton *Cecil Whig*, Sept. 2, 1938, p. 1.

¹² *Federalburg Times*, Sept. 2, 1938, p. 6.

¹³ Snow Hill *Democratic Messenger*, Sept. 1, 1938, p. 1.

¹⁴ Pocomoke City *Worcester Democrat*, Sept. 2, 1938, p. 1.

¹⁵ *LaPlata Times-Crescent*, Sept. 2, 1938, p. 2.

¹⁶ Havre de Grace *Democratic Ledger*, Sept. 3, 1938, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Emmitsburg Chronicle*, Sept. 2, 1938, p. 4.

¹⁸ Rockville *Montgomery County Sentinel*, Aug. 25, 1938, p. 1.



Franklin D. Roosevelt. *Maryland Historical Society.*

people are ready to change their government into a dictatorship.”¹⁹ Without mentioning either Roosevelt or Tydings by name, the *Catocin Clarion* charged that “in one fell swoop we find the Executive branch endeavoring in every way possible to get the balance of power in ITS hand so that it may rule, dominate and crush to suit its fancy.”²⁰ In an open letter to the President the editor of the Brunswick *Blade-Times*, affirming that Marylanders seriously doubted the “propriety, to put it mildly, of your incursion,” warned that the people felt that

you are transgressing and trampling on their rights as free citizens of a Free State when you deliberately attempt to influence them by taking the platform in the guise of a head of a party to politically destroy a man who has not been subservient to your every wish.²¹

Unlike so many other Maryland newspapers, the Denton *Journal* and Baltimore *Afro-American* were pleased over the prospect of the President’s visit. Proud of the “honor” that Roosevelt was according Denton and the Eastern Shore, the *Journal*

¹⁹ Aberdeen *Harford Democrat*, Aug. 26, 1938, p. 4.

²⁰ Thurmont *Catocin Clarion*, Aug. 26, 1938, p. 1.

²¹ Brunswick *Blade-Times*, Sept. 1, 1938, p. 1.

predicted that the President would receive a "wholehearted welcome."²² The *Afro-American* sensed that Maryland's Negro voters would not only "listen attentively" to the President but would be "inclined to give him what he asks for here." Praising Roosevelt for having recommended congressional passage of the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill, the Baltimore weekly upbraided Tydings for having "stood in the way" of this legislation.²³ The *Afro-American* concluded that Maryland's Negroes could "depend" on the President and Congressman Lewis to support anti-lynching measures in the future.²⁴

Accompanied by Lewis and National Chairman Farley,²⁵ the President left Washington on September 4 and was driven to Morgantown. After inspecting the area where a bridge would eventually cross the Potomac River to Virginia, the President's party cruised down the river to Chesapeake Bay.²⁶ The following morning, after docking at Crisfield, the President proceeded to tour the Eastern Shore by automobile, visiting Princess Anne, Pocomoke City, Snow Hill, Berlin, Salisbury, Sharpstown, and Federalsburg. Finally, at Denton Roosevelt delivered a major political speech broadcast over nationwide radio. The President, asserting that the Democratic Party would "continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans as long as it remains a liberal party," pledged as the party's leader "to try to keep it liberal." Although Roosevelt did not mention Tydings by name, he expressed his chagrin with the obstructionism of conservative Democrats in Congress and strongly inferred that Tydings was among the most prominent of these conservatives. The President, informing his audience that Maryland was "fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true," was generous in his praise of Lewis. Referring to Lewis, the President declared:

He symbolizes for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.²⁷

The President's appearances in Morgantown and Denton were thoroughly scrutinized by the newspapers of Maryland and Washington, D.C. The Washington newspapers were widely circulated in the capitol's Maryland suburbs, as well as throughout southern Maryland.²⁸ The *Washington Post* referred to Roosevelt's

²² Denton *Journal*, Sept. 3, 1938, p. 6.

²³ Lewis had voted for the anti-lynching bill (H.R. 1507) which had passed the House in 1937. The Senate, as a consequence of a prolonged filibuster, failed to take action on the Wagner-Van Nuys Bill (S. 1709). On two occasions the bill's proponents had unsuccessfully attempted to limit debate. Tydings had voted against limiting debate on one occasion, and had been unrecorded on the other. *Congressional Record*, LXXXI, p. 3563; LXXXIII, pp. 1166, 2007.

²⁴ Baltimore, *Afro-American*, Sept. 3, 1938, p. 4.

²⁵ In addition to serving as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Farley was Postmaster-General of the United States.

²⁶ *Sun*, Sept. 5, 1938, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1938, pp. 1-2.

²⁸ There were no daily newspapers in Montgomery, Prince Georges, Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's counties.

campaign against Tydings as a “vendetta” and volunteered the opinion that, even more than with others who had incurred White House displeasure, Roosevelt’s intervention in the Maryland primary justified the word “purge.” Recalling that the word “purge” had become identified with the “methods of European dictators to get rid of ostensible followers who somehow crossed the executive will,” the *Post* admitted that the President’s method of elimination was “certainly very different,” but concluded that “it appears to many level-headed citizens that the spirit behind that method is not dissimilar in the case of Hitler, of Stalin, of Mussolini, of Roosevelt.”²⁹

The Washington *Evening Star* was distinctly critical of Roosevelt’s visit to Maryland. According to the *Star*, when the President assumed the right to go into Maryland, he should have been prepared to cite the specific reasons why he believed Tydings should be denied renomination. The *Star* reasoned as follows:

... The voters have a right to expect something more than sweeping generalities from the national leader when he steps into the role of intraparty partisan. If Mr. Roosevelt’s position in the Maryland primary can be justified at all, its justification must arise from his willingness and ability to tell the people specifically and in detail how Senator Tydings has failed. In this respect his Denton speech was wholly wanting.³⁰

Obviously resenting Roosevelt’s intervention in the Maryland primary, the Salisbury *Times* foresaw that a Congress “completely subservient to the will and whims of one man can only lead to dictatorship, and ultimately the destruction of the freedom and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.” The *Times*, reminding its readers that the “prestige and influence of the President and several members of his Cabinet, the almost unlimited weight of the present national administration” had been mobilized behind Lewis’ candidacy, asserted that a vote for Tydings was

a vote to direct the nation into the path of saneness; a path that upholds the three branches of our government, that one branch cannot usurp the authority of either of the other two branches; ... a path whose course is directed by the Constitution which has made this the greatest nation on the face of the earth.³¹

Calling the President’s visit an “unwarranted and un-American invasion,” the Hagerstown *Morning Herald* charged that Roosevelt had come to Maryland “in an effort to change our custom of selecting men of our own choice, without Federal interference, to the United States Senate.” If successful in such an endeavor, the *Morning Herald* warned that the President would “begin to absorb Congress in the same way.” The Hagerstown publication continued:

... It is no wonder that Marylanders, cherishing independence and freedom, are aroused to a

²⁹*Post*, Sept. 6, 1938, p. 6.

³⁰Washington *Evening Star*, Sept. 6, 1938, p. 8.

³¹Salisbury *Times*, Sept. 8, 1938, p. 1.



Cartoon by C. Berryman, April 15, 1936. *Maryland Historical Society.*

high pitch. It is no wonder that the eyes of the nation are centered on the vote of the Free State on Monday.

According to the *Morning Herald*, the citizens of Maryland had a duty “to resist with all their might and all their power this attempt to select a rubber stamp Senator in this great state.”³²

The *Baltimore American*, a Hearst publication and Maryland’s largest Sunday newspaper, emphasized the traditional balance of power among the three branches of the national government and argued that, if the people wanted to preserve the independence of Congress, “the President must not be allowed to APPOINT members of the Senate and House.” Accusing Roosevelt of attempting to dictate to the voters of Maryland, the *American* editorialized: “Carried to its logical conclusion, the appointment of Senators and Representatives would lead to dictatorship.”³³

The *Baltimore Sun*, noting the “special significance” of Postmaster-General Farley accompanying the President to Maryland, caustically branded Farley as the

³² Hagerstown *Morning Herald*, Sept. 10, 1938, p. 10.

³³ *Baltimore American*, Sept. 11, 1938, p. 6.

“Jobmaster General of the Roosevelt Administration.”³⁴ Attacking Farley’s “manipulation of the Maryland division of the vastly increased army of federal jobholders,” the *Sun* charged that “manipulation” of the patronage was Roosevelt’s “hope of banishing from public life a Senator from Maryland who has had a mind of his own.”³⁵ The *Sun* applauded Tydings and other Democrats in Congress “who have insisted on the right to call their souls their own” and denounced the President’s intervention in the Maryland primary as “personal and capricious.”³⁶

A devastating indictment of Roosevelt’s intervention appeared in the Baltimore *News-Post*, a Hearst newspaper. Remarking that it was “by no accident that the eyes of the American people turn to the ‘Free State’ of Maryland,” the *News-Post* editorialized as follows:

The issue is simply this, whether the enormous power of the President of the United States inherent in that great office, and now enhanced by unlimited political patronage and whole of the vast resources of the Federal Treasury, may be used to influence and coerce the voters of a sovereign State in the choice of a Senator.

Asserting that the voters of each state wield the power “through which public officers grown too strong for the public welfare may be checked and held within the limits provided by the founders of the Republic in the Constitution,” the *News-Post* predicted that Tydings’ renomination would be hailed by the entire nation as a sign that the people of Maryland “have determined to go no further along the road that leads to executive domination and eventual dictation.” The final sentence of the *News-Post* editorial read as follows: “It is little wonder that American citizens everywhere await the returns from this momentous election with beating hearts.”³⁷

A substantial number of Maryland’s weekly newspapers evaluated the senatorial primary during the days after the President’s visit. Emphasizing that Roosevelt had had his “fling” at the Eastern Shore, the *Cecil Whig* labeled his visit as an “invasion” and a “purely political” move to punish Tydings.³⁸ The Westminster *Times* believed that Marylanders “do not want to be told how to vote by an outsider, even if the outsider is the President, who is playing politics of the Hitler and Tammany brand.”³⁹ Calling Roosevelt’s visit a success as a “holiday excursion,” the Chestertown *Enterprise* concluded that as an attempt to defeat Tydings “the visit was a flop before it started.”⁴⁰ The Bel Air *Aegis*, accusing the President of “having disregarded precedents of long standing,” urged the voters to tell the world “that Marylanders are still a ‘peculiar people’ who glory in their independence and will not tolerate dictation from any source.”⁴¹ The *Eastern Shore Times* editorialized that the senatorial

³⁴ *Sun*, Sept. 6, 1938, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1938, p. 8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1938, p. 1.

³⁷ Baltimore *News-Post*, Sept. 8, 1938, p. 28.

³⁸ Elkton *Cecil Whig*, Sept. 9, 1938, p. 1.

³⁹ Westminster *Times*, Sept. 9, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Chestertown *Enterprise*, Sept. 7, 1938, p. 1.

⁴¹ Bel Air *Aegis*, Sept. 9, 1938, p. 4.

primary would determine "whether Maryland will be bossed in the selection of its public servants."⁴² Opposing Roosevelt's interference in Maryland politics, the *Montgomery County Sentinel* asserted that the primary result would resolve whether Maryland would "reassert her title of 'Free State'."⁴³ The *Marylander and Herald*, objecting to Lewis' promise of unequivocal support for the President, endorsed Tydings' renomination, because it feared that "a rubber stamp Congress will prove unhealthy to the affairs of the nation."⁴⁴ Confident that the people of Maryland profoundly respected "three separate, distinct, independent and co-equal departments" and stressing that "our wise forefathers" intended each to be "a check or restraint, on either of the other Departments, of too much power," the *Easton Star-Democrat* was convinced that Marylanders

cannot look with approval upon the whole power of the Administration, its patronage, the tax-payers' money, and every influence and power the President can use, being used in the interest of one candidate in the primary election.⁴⁵

In sharp contrast to the overwhelming majority of critical editorials appearing in Maryland newspapers, the *Denton Journal* described the President's Labor Day speech as "masterful." The *Journal* continued:

...Those curiosity-seekers who came here expecting to hear a 'fire and brimstone' denunciation were very badly disappointed, for the entire speech was a dignified setting forth of facts and aims of vital concern to the whole nation, and not alone confined to Maryland.

As to popular reaction to the President's visit, the *Journal* concluded as follows: "Notwithstanding the play-up of the 'invasion' angle of the Denton visit, the great throng which greeted him all the way was most orderly and whole-heartedly cordial."⁴⁶

On September 12 a record number of Maryland Democrats voted in the senatorial primary. The early returns indicated that Tydings was maintaining a steady, if not insurmountable, lead over Lewis. By the following day it was certain that Tydings had emerged victorious. The final statistics were as follows: Tydings 189,714; Lewis 124,439. Tydings, carrying Baltimore City and nineteen of the state's twenty-three counties, fared well in virtually every part of Maryland.⁴⁷

The Washington newspapers were unanimous in agreeing that Tydings' renomination constituted a serious political blow to the President. The *Post*, suspecting that Lewis' candidacy was adversely affected by Roosevelt's visit to Maryland, acknowl-

⁴² Berlin *Eastern Shore Times*, Sept. 8, 1938, p. 1.

⁴³ Rockville *Montgomery County Sentinel*, Sept. 8, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Princess Anne *Marylander and Herald*, Sept. 9, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *Easton Star-Democrat*, Sept. 9, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Denton Journal*, Sept. 10, 1938, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Tydings carried Baltimore City by a margin of 81,283-59,089 and lost only Alleghany, Frederick, Garrett, and Washington counties, all of which were within Lewis' congressional district. Winning all nine counties, Tydings defeated Lewis 26,705-16,371 on the Eastern Shore. Francis Petrott, comp., *Maryland Manual, 1939*, pp. 304-305.



James Farley. *Library of Congress.*

edged that the Maryland electorate fully appreciated the “referendum quality of their vote.” Asserting that the Democratic Party of Maryland “with its eyes open and after sober reflection, has sharply rebuffed Mr. Roosevelt’s plan for remodeling the party from the top down,” the *Post* concluded that Maryland’s “vote of no confidence” placed the President “in a very difficult position.”⁴⁸

Editorializing that the Maryland result would only disappoint those ardent New Dealers who believed that the President should dominate the legislative and judicial branches of the government, the *Evening Star* was convinced that respectable Democrats were disenchanted at Roosevelt’s effort “to bring within his grasp the absolute power which would flow from such concentration of authority.” The *Star* was jubilant that neither the President’s “persuasive voice” nor the “drive of Democratic Federal office holders” influenced the Maryland primary result. Hoping that the President’s failure in Maryland might “prove a salutary lesson,” the *Star*, however, expressed doubt “that a deep impression will be made on any one so intent upon controlling the judiciary and the National Legislature.”⁴⁹

The Washington *Herald* and Washington *News* had refrained from editorializing on Roosevelt’s campaign against Tydings prior to the primary election. After

⁴⁸ *Post*, Sept. 13, 1938, p. 8.

⁴⁹ *Evening Star*, Sept. 13, 1938, p. 10.

Tydings' victory was confirmed, both publications were of the opinion that the President had suffered a setback. The *Herald* dismissed the need to be "long winded" about the Maryland primary, inasmuch as the result "speaks for itself." Commenting that Roosevelt's failure to defeat Tydings "has now lifted the Senator to a position from which he casts a shadow well into 1940 and beyond," the *Herald* concluded that Tydings "may perform the unprecedented miracle of escaping from the Senate to the Presidential candidacy at least."⁵⁰ According to the *News*, Roosevelt's challenge to Tydings was "as poor political management as this country has ever witnessed," especially in the "state more than any other in the Union supersensitive to outside interference." Thus, the *News* candidly asserted that the "expected had happened" in Maryland.⁵¹

The *Salisbury Times* insisted that in Maryland, as in no other state, were the "lines strictly drawn on issues." Contending that there were "no extenuating circumstances" affecting the Maryland senatorial primary, the *Times* appraised the contest as follows: "It was a test of subserviency of a representative in Congress and the right of that representative to freely express that which he feels is the sentiment of the majority of the people of his state."⁵²

Proud that the Democrats of Maryland had "established the dignity of their party and the dignity of their State against Presidential aggression," the *Baltimore Sun* claimed that Marylanders had proved to the nation "that it is not necessary to get off the face of the earth when Mr. Roosevelt frowns." The *Sun* was pleased to report that a United States Senator "may possess his own soul" and that, even under attack from the President, he "may go to his people and be sustained." Convinced that the Maryland primary marked a turning point in the history of the New Deal, the *Sun* believed that both the President and the country were cognizant of this fact. The *Sun* concluded as follows: "Maryland has given its demonstration before the eyes of all people that representative government still lives."⁵³

Interpreting the Maryland result as "exactly the same as the earlier results of the ludicrous and ill-tempered New Deal purge in other States," the *Baltimore News-Post* accused the President of having gone into Maryland and urged the nomination of a senator "who would vote at all times, not as a representative of the people, but as a REPRESENTATIVE OF MR. ROOSEVELT." The *News-Post*, declaring that the President's intervention was "entirely and completely repudiated and renounced," concluded that the voters of Maryland "certainly made no mistake about it" and the American people "are making no mistake about it."⁵⁴

Among many of Maryland's weekly newspapers an attitude of satisfaction prevailed over Tydings' renomination. The *Chestertown Enterprise*, elated that the

⁵⁰ *Washington Herald*, Sept. 14, 1938, p. 8.

⁵¹ *Washington News*, Sept. 13, 1938, p. 14.

⁵² *Salisbury Times*, Sept. 14, 1938, p. 4.

⁵³ *Sun*, Sept. 14, 1938, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *News-Post*, Sept. 14, 1938, p. 20.

President's intervention "received the cold shoulder it rightly deserved," expressed pride that the "Free State's freedom will remain intact."⁵⁵ The *Eastern Shore Times* editorialized that the primary "served notice that no deal, be it the New Deal or otherwise, may dictate to Maryland."⁵⁶ Proclaiming that Marylanders could point to the election result "with dignity and pride," the *Montgomery County Sentinel* commented that it was fortunate both for the nation and the Democratic Party that Maryland had "so definitely re-affirmed her claim to the title of 'Free State'."⁵⁷ The *Cecil Whig* asserted that the President "tried to regiment the voters to his way of thinking and was snowed under."⁵⁸ Reflecting on Roosevelt's visit to Maryland, the *Westminster Times* agreed that the President "came" and "saw." Asking "did the President conquer?", the *Times* affirmed that Maryland voters "gave the answer in no uncertain tones."⁵⁹ The *Democratic Messenger* contended that the primary "very clearly and forcibly" demonstrated that Marylanders "claim the privilege of being represented by a Democrat of our own choice."⁶⁰ Congratulating Tydings for having "won a battle of ballots against almost insurmountable odds," the *Democratic Ledger* predicted that in 1940 the Senator "will receive the Democratic nomination for the highest office in the land, and the voters of the nation will respond to the call in the same proportion as they did in Maryland."⁶¹ Glad that "the old 'Free State' has definitely recorded for posterity the sentiments of her citizens," the *Dorchester News* believed that Tydings' landslide victory over the President's candidate "certainly ought to give us an inkling of how the people feel in the matter."⁶² The *LaPlata Times-Crescent* viewed the primary result as a "mandate" from the citizens of Maryland to the President "that their chosen representative in the Senate shall be free to speak his mind and remain answerable only to them."⁶³ In a post-election editorial the *Worcester Democrat* commented as follows:

Election day came and the good old Free State spoke in no uncertain tones. It welcomed the opportunity to register its denunciation of a campaign of force, and by an overwhelming vote declared for, not so much the renomination of Tydings, as for the liberty of the franchise, an untrammelled ballot, and for a government not in harmony with concentration in Federal authority. It was a noble and inspiring gesture for democratic principles, and a notice served on Washington that thus far shall it come and no farther.⁶⁴

Among those newspapers which printed editorials between Roosevelt's announcement of August 16 and the time that Tydings' primary victory became a reality,

⁵⁵*Enterprise*, Sept. 14, 1938, p. 1.

⁵⁶*Eastern Shore Times*, Sept. 15, 1938, p. 4.

⁵⁷*Montgomery County Sentinel*, Sept. 15, 1938, p. 1.

⁵⁸*Cecil Whig*, Sept. 16, 1938, p. 1.

⁵⁹*Times*, Sept. 16, 1938, p. 1.

⁶⁰*Democratic Messenger*, Sept. 15, 1938, p. 4.

⁶¹*Democratic Ledger*, Sept. 17, 1938, p. 1.

⁶²*Hurlock Dorchester News*, Sept. 16, 1938, p. 1.

⁶³*Times-Crescent*, Sept. 16, 1938, p. 2.

⁶⁴*Worcester Democrat*, Sept. 16, 1938, p. 1.



Millard E. Tydings. *Maryland Historical Society.*

sentiment was virtually unanimous against the President's intervention. The only possible consolation for the President was that approximately one-half of Maryland's newspapers refrained from commenting on his attempt to defeat Tydings.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it must be noted that many of these newspapers, especially the weekly publications, were either politically independent or solely concerned with local affairs.

Numerous Maryland newspapers charged that Roosevelt's intervention against Tydings constituted a departure from tradition or that the President had become obsessed with Maryland politics. These publications, however, neglected to mention that, although the President's New Deal policies and programs likewise defied tradition, he had been re-elected in 1936 by the most decisive margin in American history. As to preoccupation with Maryland politics, the President had been directly or indirectly involved in numerous primary contests during the summer of 1938.⁶⁶ Indeed his conspicuous lack of success in dislodging senatorial opponents of the New

⁶⁵ Among the daily newspapers which remained silent on the Roosevelt-Tydings confrontation were the *Annapolis Capital*, *Cambridge Banner*, *Frederick Post*, and *Hagerstown Mail*. Among the weekly publications were the following *Boonsboro Times*, *Catonsville Herald-Argus*, *Crisfield Times*, *Ellicott City Times*, *Hampstead Enterprise*, *Hancock News*, *Laurel News Leader*, *Oakland Republican*, *Prince Frederick Journal-Gazette*, and *Upper Marlboro Enquirer-Gazette*.

⁶⁶ During July and August Roosevelt had made personal appearances in Ohio, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, California, Georgia, and South Carolina, hoping to persuade the voters of those states to nominate supporters of the New Deal to the Senate. Detailed coverage of the President's political activities in the aforementioned states may be found in the *Post*, July 9, 1938, pp. 1, 12; July 10, 1938, pp. 1, 6; July 17, 1938, pp. 1, 11; Aug. 11, 1938, pp. 1, 6; Aug. 12, 1938, pp. 1, 8; Aug. 13, 1938, p. 2.

Deal diminished the likelihood that the Maryland electorate would respond to his appeal against Tydings' renomination.⁶⁷

Although many Maryland newspapers were justified in interpreting Tydings' victory as a rebuff to the President, they were less justified in suggesting that Roosevelt's avowed opposition to Tydings was the overriding factor in the outcome of the primary. Tydings, a popular incumbent senator with an unblemished record of political success, had been overwhelmingly re-elected in 1932,⁶⁸ while Lewis had never been elected to any office outside his own congressional district and twice before had been defeated in races for the Senate.⁶⁹ A week prior to the President's controversial visit the usually reliable Gallup Poll predicted that Tydings would receive 58 per cent of the popular vote,⁷⁰ while two days before the primary the Gallup Poll forecast that Tydings would win 59 per cent of the vote.⁷¹ Notwithstanding the interest stimulated by the President's visit to Maryland, there was no appreciable change in the Gallup Poll's projection during the supposedly crucial twelve day period between August 30 and September 10. Interestingly, Tydings on September 12 received 58.9 per cent of the popular vote. Although it is impossible to determine how many Marylanders were influenced by the President's involvement in the senatorial primary, it seems quite probable that the impact of his visit was negligible. Moreover, it seems likely that the Maryland press was reflecting rather than generating pro-Tydings sentiment during the four weeks between August 16 and September 12.

As a consequence of the senatorial primary, many Maryland newspapers believed that the President had suffered serious, if not irreparable, political damage. Despite his failure to defeat Tydings and numerous other conservative Democrats in 1938, Roosevelt was easily renominated⁷² and handily re-elected in 1940.⁷³ Although the

⁶⁷ Although supporters of the President were renominated in Ohio, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, New Deal senators were defeated in California and Idaho. Senators regarded as basically unsympathetic to the New Deal were renominated in Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nevada, and South Carolina. Valuable accounts of Roosevelt's intervention in the 1938 primaries may be found in the following works: James A. Farley, *Jim Farley's Story; The Roosevelt Years* (New York, 1948), pp. 137-150; James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal; The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington, Ky., 1967), pp. 263-288; and J. B. Shannon, "Presidential Politics in the South, 1938," *The Journal of Politics*, May 1939, pp. 146-170 and August 1939, pp. 278-300.

⁶⁸ In 1932 Tydings had been re-elected by a vote of 293,389-138,536, carrying Baltimore City and twenty-two of Maryland's twenty-three counties. David C. Winebrenner, comp., *Maryland Manual, 1933*, p. 274.

⁶⁹ Lewis had been defeated by his Republican opponent for the Senate in 1916 and had been unsuccessful in his quest for the Democratic senatorial nomination in 1922. *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1215.

⁷⁰ American Institute of Public Opinion, *Public Opinion News Service*, New York, Aug. 30, 1938.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1938.

⁷² At the 1940 Democratic National Convention Roosevelt was renominated on the first ballot. The vote was as follows: Roosevelt 946 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0; Postmaster-General James A. Farley 72 $\frac{1}{10}$ 0; Vice-President John N. Garner 61; Tydings 9 $\frac{1}{2}$; Secretary of State Cordell Hull 5 $\frac{2}{3}$. *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1940*, pp. 189-190.

⁷³ In the November election Roosevelt defeated Wendell Wilkie 448-81 in the electoral college and 27,313,041-22,348,480 in the popular vote. Richard M. Scammon, comp., *America at the Polls: A Handbook of American Presidential Election Statistics, 1920-1964* (Pittsburgh, 1965), p. 208.

Maryland press had warned of the adverse political reaction to his unsuccessful campaign against Tydings, it was the voters of Maryland who had the opportunity to register their support or opposition to the President in 1940. In 1936 Roosevelt had carried Maryland over Alfred M. Landon by a margin of 389,612–231,435.⁷⁴ In 1940 he again prevailed in Maryland, outpolling Wendell Wilkie 384,546–269,534.⁷⁵ His proportion of the Maryland vote declined from 62.3 to 58.3 per cent. Considering that the President was violating tradition by running for an unprecedented third term and that his nationwide share of the vote dropped from 60.8 to 54.7 per cent,⁷⁶ his performance in Maryland was quite creditable. Indeed his substantial victory in Maryland confirmed the suspicion that a majority of Maryland Democrats in 1938, while favoring the renomination of Senator Tydings, were not necessarily opposed either to the President's leadership or the New Deal.⁷⁷

Franklin D. Roosevelt carried Maryland in all four of his successful quests for the presidency. Millard E. Tydings' Senate career spanned twenty-four years, during more than half of which Roosevelt was in the White House. Despite their sharp political differences, Roosevelt and Tydings ran on the same tickets in 1932 and 1944 and both were victorious in Maryland. Roosevelt has been widely acknowledged as one of the foremost leaders in American history, while Tydings has been acclaimed by many as Maryland's most illustrious political figure of the twentieth century. In 1938 Roosevelt, as the leader of the Democratic Party, made the fateful decision to oppose Tydings. Tydings withstood the President's challenge and in doing so became nationally prominent. The Roosevelt-Tydings confrontation proved to be one of the most fascinating episodes in the annals of Maryland politics and it was with a maximum of enthusiasm that the Maryland press publicized and interpreted the dramatic developments during the hectic period between August 16 and September 12, 1938.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁷ Even on the Eastern Shore the President fared quite well. In 1936 Roosevelt carried the Eastern Shore 39,989–30,481 (56.7 per cent), while in 1940 he outpolling Wilkie 39,954–32,263 (55.3 per cent). *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

RICHARD J. COX, Curator of Manuscripts

Presidential Letters

Among the nearly two thousand manuscript collections comprising two million items are over two hundred letters of our country's Presidents. Every chief executive except Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Chester A. Arthur, William McKinley, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Lyndon Johnson is represented.

The majority of these letters are located in a few of the Society's most important collections. David Bailie Warden, diplomat and scientist, and William Wirt, lawyer, politician, and author, maintained a voluminous correspondence with the early Presidents. Their papers (MS. 871 and MS. 1011) contain letters from John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. A prominent Maryland family, the Howards, corresponded with Jefferson, Van Buren, and Buchanan (MS. 469). Famous Maryland lawyer and Supreme Court Justice, Roger Brooke Taney, also corresponded regularly with Jackson and Van Buren (MS. 800). The Maryland historian Edward Ingle knew personally Woodrow Wilson from his graduate years at Johns Hopkins (MS. 1325). Anna Ella Carroll wrote to one of the lesser known Presidents, Millard Fillmore (MS. 1224). The papers of the Baltimore *Sun* reporter, Frank Kent, also have letters of Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nixon (MS. 182).

Many of the letters are rich in personal glimpses of the Presidents. A lengthy letter by John Adams contains comments on his view of the American Revolution. In another, James Monroe complains to William Wirt that he is "absolutely without money." Writing to David B. Warden in 1822, Jefferson laments his advanced years, "the weight of 80. years pressing heavily on me."

Since these were politically-minded men, they were always prone to write much on this subject. Their letters at the Society have among them some outstanding examples. John Quincy Adams, nearing the end of his life, wrote that he is "not of those who feel bound to justify the Government of my Country, in their transactions with foreign nations, *Right or Wrong*." Van Buren summarized the Jacksonian era by elevating "the people" to be the main tenet of political principles and concerns. Fillmore reflected the sectional tension of the mid-1850's by writing that he was "at-

tacked at the South as an *abolitionist* . . . and at the North as a *proslavery* man." In the political idealism of another age, Woodrow Wilson wrote to Baltimorean Edward Ingle that "we must go on dreaming our dreams, and talking about them, and believing with them, until we make them the fashion, whether in our own day or in the day that comes after it. . . ."

Perhaps the greatest value of these letters is in the opinions these men expressed concerning the nature of the Presidency. Washington's high ideals of public "duty" are exhibited in his address to the citizens of Baltimore in early 1789. The rough-riding aggressiveness of Theodore Roosevelt is evident when he wrote that a nation must keep its "fighting principles" or be "swallowed up by [other] nations." A more contemporary President, Harry Truman, in the midst of his administration, summed up his feelings: "I have been through the most strenuous four years any man ever experienced in the history of this great nation." In the same letter he added he worked "night and day every day and Sunday. . . ."

It may be surprising to some that there are so many Presidential letters in the Society's holdings. No Marylander has ever held this high office, and until very recently no native of this State had ever been elected to the Vice-Presidency. However, many Marylanders involved in important governmental functions or holding important offices have brought these letters here. Such an example is the Bonaparte Papers (MS. 141-5). Charles J. Bonaparte was Attorney General in Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet, and this collection contains numerous letters between them.

It is hoped that eventually the collection of Presidential letters will be complete with every President being represented. Every new collection that comes in holds the exciting possibility of uncovering another Presidential letter. We strongly urge people with such letters to consider giving them to the Society where they may be cared for properly. These letters are specially protected, with the original removed, stored under lock and key, and a xerox copy made available for researchers.

The Presidential letters are one of the highlights of the Society's manuscript holdings.

Accessions of the Manuscript Division Since the Publication of *Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* in August, 1968¹

IX

Allard, Thomas B., Papers (MS. 1953). Naturalization papers (Allard was originally from England) and Civil War material related to Allard's service in the Maryland Volunteer Infantry; 6 items, 1833-64. Donor: Mrs. Louis A. Robl.

Archer-Mitchell-Stump-Williams Family Papers (MS. 1948). Many papers relating to Maryland during Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War. Land papers of Harford, Cecil, Dorchester Counties, and town of Cambridge and account books of Baltimore merchandizing. Of special interest are documents of a Navy surgeon in Perry's expedition to Japan; 23 boxes and 2 vols., 18th-20th C. Donors: Mrs. Lewis J. Williams with the aid of Mrs. J. Woodley Richardson and Mrs. John Zanuck.

Archer Family Letters (MS. 1920.1). Typed transcripts of this family's letters concerning Harford County and Texas. Good material concerning westward migration; 1 box, 1846-71. Donor: Mrs. Allen W. Dulles.

Baltimore Miscellaneous Manuscripts (MS. 1992). Xerox copies of letters about Baltimore history; 19 letters, 1797-1862.

Belvedere Hotel Records (MS. 1882). Business records (deeds, etc.) of this organization; 150 items, 1900-58. Donor: Mrs. Bowen.

Board of Beneficence Records (MS. 1760). Minutes of meetings, account books, and other records of Board of Beneficence of St. John's Independent Methodist Protestant Church; 13 boxes, 1802-1945. Donor: Unknown.

Bokel-Gallagher Collection (MS. 1950). Notebook, time book, exercise book, receipts, and letters (some from American soldiers in World War I) of or to various Gallaghers and Bokels; 25 items, 1876-1918. Donor: Miss Martha Bokel.

Bond, Carroll T., Papers (MS. 60.1). Diary of Bond describing his stay at York Harbor, Maine in August 1942. Also some letters concerning the "Broad Arrow" mark; 10 items, 1932-43. Donors: Anonymous with the aid of H.H. Walker Lewis.

Bradford, Phoebe (George), Diaries of (MS. 1778). Diaries mention family mat-

¹ Indexed listing and description of 1,724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for \$15.00.

ters and occasionally such national affairs as slavery and Mexican-American relations; 4 vols., 1832–39. Donor: Mrs. Harry Clark Boden IV.

Bradford Receipts (MS. 1802). Personal receipts of Augustus W. Bradford, Governor of Maryland, and his wife; 22 items, 1865–68. Donor: Unknown.

Brune Family Papers (MS. 1921.1). Letters, mainly business, by or to members of the Brune family of Baltimore; 300 items, 1831–97. Donor: Estate of Judge Frederick W. Brune.

Carroll Family Papers (MS. 1873). Correspondence of Charles Carroll, Barrister, Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, H. G. Rieman to Carroll family members, and letters to John Henry Carroll. Also much material on the estate, "The Caves," in Baltimore County and Carroll genealogies; 100 items, 1730–1926. Donor: Dr. Douglas G. Carroll.

Carroll, R. G. Harper, Papers (MS. 1683). Civil War letters between Carroll (a confederate soldier) and his wife in Baltimore. Also parole to Mrs. Ellen Carroll signed by Philip H. Sheridan; 16 items, 1863–65. Donor: Mrs. Muth.

Carson Business Papers (MS. 1903). Business letters to John Carson, a merchant (?) in Port Deposit, Maryland; 11 items, 1829–53. Donor: Randolph L. Carson.

Civil War Papers (MS. 1860). Significant collection relating to sectional strain before 1861 and nature of war years. Maryland and national figures (such as Abraham Lincoln) are represented; 8 boxes, 1832–1960. Donors: Numerous.

Civil War Scrapbook (MS. 1916). Miscellaneous Civil War etchings and photographs; 1 vol., 1846–67. Donor: G. Terry Sharrer.

Coleman, Charles, Diaries (MS. 1966). Coleman was a plantation owner in Halifax County, Virginia. Includes comments on weather, agriculture, political issues, etc. 2 vols., 1842–49. Donor: Miss Rebecca Marshall.

Common-Place Book (MS. 1934). Fee list of John Leeds Bozman, a lawyer in Talbot and Caroline Counties, Maryland. Common-place book includes personal notes and opinions on news items such as the Shakers and slavery. Also notes by John Bozman Kerr; 1 vol, 1788–1876. Donor: John Leeds Kerr.

Conn, William Tipton, Scrapbook and Memorabilia of (MS. 1813). About Conn's career in the Navy; 3 items, 1902–19. Donor: Mrs. Charles G. McDermott.

Cox, James, Papers (MS. 1909). Financial and legal papers of Cox and his wife. Cox was an officer in the Revolutionary War; 21 items, 1774–95. Donor: Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Cumberland Control Center Records (MS. 1800). Registers and an account book of the Council of Civilian Defense of the Cumberland Control Center; 4 vols., 1941–44. Donor: Indefinite deposit by City of Cumberland.

Davis Journals (MS. 186). An autobiography of John Davis, a civil engineer who worked with Benjamin Latrobe; 2 vols, 1770–1851. Donor: J. Alexis Shriver and J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul.

Deford Business Papers (MS. 1964). These papers are from Deford's work as a leather dealer and commission merchant; 350 items, 1854–97. Donor: D. S. Drewry Deford.

Dobbin, George W., Papers (MS. 1983). Some letters and miscellaneous items concerning Dobbin's last years and his death. Dobbin was a Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City and one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society; 11 items, 1883-91. Donor: Alexander Brown & Sons and Dr. George Dobbin Brown.

Dorsey, Leonard, Collection (MS. 1874). Business letters to Dorsey about the price of commodities and market conditions in Philadelphia and Baltimore and trade between Philadelphia and Baltimore; 16 items, 1778-79. Donor: Joseph Katz.

Duffy, William Clinton, Collection (MS. 1899). Letters by Duffy, a sergeant in the United States Army during World War I; 11 items, 1918-10 and 1954. Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Robert Knauff.

GENEALOGICA MARYLANDIA

Gerard's Daughters

JOHN WALTON

AS THE TURBULENT Lord of St. Clement's Manor in St. Mary's County and as a *bon vivant* in Westmoreland, Dr. Thomas Gerard has been remembered on both sides of the Potomac. He was, as many historians and genealogists know, the father of some remarkable daughters—the number and names of whom it is the purpose of this investigation to determine—who surely enjoyed some notoriety during their lifetime. One can assume this without being so ungracious as to rely on James Thomas Flexner's aspersion that John Washington, great-grandfather of the Father of our Country, married (after the death of his first wife, Anne Pope) two sisters in succession¹ “who had been accused before him, when he sat as justice of the peace, one with keeping a bawdy house and the other with being the governor's whore.”² The daughters of Dr. Thomas Gerard must have been renowned for the number and standing of the husbands that they, individually and collectively, attracted.

It is not, however, the number and names of their husbands that is our primary concern here; we are going to try to settle the questions about who Gerard's daughters were. Beitzell, an authority on St. Mary's County families, has listed six, and possibly seven, daughters and three sons:³

¹ It is generally believed that John Washington married two of Gerard's daughters.

² James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington: The Forge of Experience* (1772–1775) (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 10.

Flexner may have obtained his information from an inaccurate reading of the Westmoreland County records. [See John Frederick Dorman, *Westmoreland County Deeds, Patents, etc.*, 1665–1677, Part I (Washington, D.C., 1973).] These records contain a number of depositions with respect to statements made by one Richard Cole, who allegedly made vicious and slanderous remarks about many prominent people of good repute. The reference to Mrs. Brett (Anne _____ Broadhurst, Brett, Washington) keeping a bawdy house is in a deposition given by Robert Edwards and Mary Edwards, August 27, 1668, and sworn before Justinian Gerard. It was recorded October 28, 1668, pp. 25–25a. The reference to Frances Gerard Speke, Peyton, Appleton, Washington, Hardwick, as the Governor's whore is apparently taken from a deposition taken by James Colestram on September 12, 1668 and sworn to before Nicholas Spencer. It was recorded on October 28, 1668, pp. 25a–26. There is no indication here that Mrs. Brett and Mrs. Appelton were ever called before John Washington. As a matter of fact it is obvious from reading these depositions that Richard Cole's slander of a number of people, including the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, was recognized as the raving of an intoxicated and unbalanced man. See, for example, Robert Slye's deposition, pp. 18–18a.

³ Edwin W. Beitzell, “Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law,” *Chronicles of St. Marys*, vol. 10, nos. 10, 11 (October and November, 1962), pp. 300–312. See this article as originally published in the *Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 46 (Sept., 1951), pp. 189–206.

1. Justinian Gerard, married Sarah, widow of Wilkes Maunders.
2. Thomas Gerard, married Susannah Curtis.
3. Susannah Gerard, married first, Robert Slye, and, secondly, John Coode—a prominent leader in “Orange Revolution” in 1689,⁴ and a shadowy figure in John Barth’s *The Sot-Weed Factor*.
4. Anne Gerard, married, first, Walter Broadhurst, secondly, Henry Brett, and, thirdly, John Washington.
5. Frances Gerard, married, first, Thomas Speke, secondly Valentine Peyton, thirdly, John Appleton, fourthly, John Washington, and fifthly, William Hardwick.
6. Temperance Gerard, married, first, Daniel Hutt, secondly, John Crabbe, and thirdly, Benjamin Blanchflower.⁵
7. Elizabeth Gerard, married, first Nehemiah Blackiston, secondly, Ralph Rymer, and thirdly, Joshua Guibert.
8. Jane Gerard (possibly), married, first, Thomas Smyth, secondly, Philip Taylor, and thirdly, William Eltonhead.
9. John Gerard, married Elizabeth _____.
10. Mary Gerard, married Kenelm Cheseldine.

To the seven daughters named above—Susannah, Anne, Frances, Temperance, Elizabeth, Jane, and Mary—Alice Parran, chronicler of Maryland families, has added an eighth. She is Judith, wife successively of John Goldsmith and Richard Clouds.⁶ Robert Slye, Jr., son of Robert and Susannah Gerard Slye, married Priscilla Goldsmith, daughter of John and Judith Goldsmith, according to Parran; Judith Goldsmith was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard. From the will of Robert Slye, Jr. it appears likely that he did marry Priscilla Goldsmith. Named in the will are his wife, Priscilla, and the following children: John Slye, Judith Slye, Susannah Slye, and Sarah Slye.⁷ But we have no evidence that Judith Goldsmith was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard.

As will be shown later at the time of his death Dr. Thomas Gerard had only five living daughters. The evidence is conclusive that these five daughters were Susannah, Frances, Temperance, Elizabeth, and Mary. Since Judith and Anne were living at this time they cannot be included. The argument against Jane is both from silence and from chronology. We shall try now to settle the question about whom can be regarded as Gerard’s daughters and thereby determine who can claim that they are his descendants.

Dr. Thomas Gerard, member of an ancient and great Lancashire County Catholic

⁴ For an account of Coode’s activities in the Revolution of 1689 see Michael G. Kammer, “The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689,” *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 55 (Sept., 1960), pp. 321 ff.

⁵ The third marriage is not mentioned by Beitzell. See Westmoreland County, Virginia, Order Book, 1690–98, pp. 159a, 160.

⁶ Alice Parran, *Register of Maryland’s Heraldic Families*, Series II, Baltimore, Maryland, 1938, pp. 201–208; 154–155; 271. For Judith Goldsmith’s marriage to Richard Clouds, see *Administrative Accounts*, H-H, Folio, 96, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

⁷ Wills, Liber 16, folio 74, 180, Hall of Records.

family, was born in 1608–1609, probably in Newhall. In 1629 he married Susanna Snow, daughter of John and Judith (some say Edryth) Snow of Staffordshire, and a sister of Abel, Justinian, and Marmaduke Snow who were associated with Lord Baltimore in the Maryland enterprise. Abel Snow held the manor of Snow Hill. Apparently, Dr. Thomas Gerard was a distant cousin of the Richard Gerard who came to Maryland in 1633 and returned to England in 1635. Richard was probably a descendant of Sir Thomas Gerard, the great Elizabethan. As far as is known Dr. Thomas Gerard came to Maryland, first, in 1638;⁸ after a return trip or two, brought his family over in 1650.⁹ On September 19 of that year he demanded 2000 acres of land for transporting himself, his wife, and five children into the province as well as Mr. Austin Hall (or Hull) and eight manservants and four woman servants. His children were Justinian, Susan, Frances, Temperance, and Elizabeth.¹⁰

Of all Baltimore's manorial Lords, Dr. Thomas Gerard probably governed his demesne in the most traditionally baronial style. At St. Clement's he held manorial court—the Court Leet and the Court Baron¹¹—he took advantage of proverbial prerogatives of his position for the enjoyment of the good things of this world, and he continued to acquire land. To the 3500 acres that lay across the Potomac in Westmoreland County he retreated after his unexplained participation in Josias Fendall's rebellion in 1660. There he married his second wife, a young widow by the name of Rose Tucker (by whom he had no children), and there he died in 1673. His body was brought back to St. Clements to lie by that of his first wife, Susanna.¹²

A footnote to the history of Virginia records that Dr. Thomas Gerard, together with Henry Corbin, John Lee, and Isaac Allerton, erected a "Banqueting House";¹³ many years later an unusually strait-laced Bishop of Virginia cited the events that occurred in this house as an example of "riotous living" in the seventeenth century.¹⁴

The will of Dr. Thomas Gerard provides us with scant information about his children. Dated February 1, 1672, and proved October 19, 1673,¹⁵ it refers to the three sons and five daughters that will "survive" their father. The eldest son, Justinian, the youngest son, John, and a daughter, Mary, then under twenty-one years of age are

⁸ See Gust Skordas, ed., *The Early Settlers of Maryland. An Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633–1680, in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 180.

⁹ This sketch of Dr. Thomas Gerard's origin is taken from David Spalding's, C.F.X., "Thomas Gerard of Maryland and Virginia: Old World Roots," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, vol. 7, (July, 1959), pp. 2–8; also from the papers of Walter Weston Folger, a surety of the Baronial order of Magna Charta.

¹⁰ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VIII (1913), p. 262.

¹¹ For a description of these courts see James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1920), pp. 128–135.

¹² For this resumé of Dr. Thomas Gerard in America, I am indebted to David Spalding, C.F.X., "Thomas Gerard: The Study of a Lord of the Manor and the Advantages of Manor Holding in Early Maryland," United States Catholic Historical Society *Historical Records and Studies*, XLIV (1956).

¹³ Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard."

¹⁴ Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), II, p. 146.

¹⁵ *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 1, IV, pp. 82–85.

named. Very few other members of the household were mentioned; they were son-in-law Blaxstones (Blackstone), grandson, Peyton Gerard, deceased wife, Susanna, and wife, Rose.

The evidence shows clearly that the five daughters that would survive were Susannah, Frances, Temperance, Elizabeth, and Mary. First, there is no doubt that he had daughters with those names; the first four he transported in 1650, and the fifth is mentioned in his will as being under twenty-one years of age and, therefore, born after 1650. It is also reasonably well substantiated that these five daughters did survive their father. Therefore, if he did have other daughters, they would have predeceased him. We know that Judith Goldsmith lived long after his death; that Anne Broadhurst (Brett, Washington) is supposed to have died in 1675; and that the dates in the life of Jane Smyth (Taylor, Eltonhead) make it most unlikely that she was his daughter, although she predeceased him.

As for the daughters we know he had, Susannah, who married, first Robert Slye, and, secondly, John Coode, was living in 1679.¹⁶ She was in the courts, probably at the instigation of her second husband, to ask for a separation of her interest—one moiety—in the Bushwood estate from that of her eldest son (Gerard Slye) by her first husband. Frances married John Washington, her fourth husband, supposedly in 1676 and lived to marry a fifth husband, William Hardwick.¹⁷ Temperance was married to Daniel Hutt in 1669; five years later he died and Temperance married John Crabbe;¹⁸ and she lived to marry a third husband, Benjamin Blanchflower.¹⁹ Elizabeth married Nehemiah Blackstone who died in 1693; she later married in succession Ralph Rymer and Joshua Guibert; and she died in St. Mary's County in 1716.²⁰ Mary, who married Kenelm Cheseldine, was mentioned in her father's will as one who would survive him. Thus, the five known daughters of Dr. Thomas Gerard were the ones he referred to in his will. As for Jane, Judith, and Anne, there seems to be reasonably conclusive evidence that they were not his daughters. They were, however, involved in the same social milieu as Gerard's daughters, and there are many intriguing and suggestive family relationships that indicate the intricately interwoven society along the lower Potomac. Therefore, in presenting the evidence against the likelihood that they, too, were Gerard's daughters, we shall include personal and family information that will illumine here and there the realities of colonial life.

Jane is the only one of the three who predeceased Dr. Thomas Gerard and is,

¹⁶ See Provincial Court Records, Liber M-M, folios, 403, 412, 419, 420 (1674); Provincial Court Judgments, Liber I, folio 122 (Fifth year of the Dominion of Charles, Lord Baltimore, 1679), Hall of Records, Annapolis. Also see William H. Browne, et. al., eds. *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), LXV, pp. 409–506.

¹⁷ Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard"; see also, "The Hardwick Family," *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 2, III (1923), p. 99.

¹⁸ "Westmoreland County Records," *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 1, XV (1906), pp. 190–191.

¹⁹ Westmoreland, County *Order Book, 1690–1698*, pp. 159a, 160.

²⁰ Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard"; Christopher Johnson, "Blackstone Family," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 11 (1937), pp. 57, 58, 177; George Harrison Sanford King, *Addenda and Conigenda, Marriages of Richmond County, Virginia, 1668–1853*. For her will see *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, V, p. 69.

therefore, not excluded by the logic of the evidence so far from the possibility of being one of his daughters.²¹ According to Beitzell²² she married, first, Thomas Smyth who was captured by Governor Leonard Calvert after the reduction of Kent Island in 1645 and hanged as a pirate, leaving his widow with two small daughters, Gertrude and Jane.²³ Later she married Captain Philip Taylor, who died prior to 1649 and left two children, Sarah and Thomas.²⁴ He may have died a natural death. In any event, Jane married a third husband—Beitzell indicates that it was William Eltonhead, who was taken prisoner after the Battle of the Severn and shot; but in her will, proved February 28, 1659, Jane mentioned a legacy to her son Thomas Taylor to be paid after the debts of Edward Eltonhead had been paid.²⁵ No evidence has been found that Jane was a Gerard. Moreover, it is not likely that a woman who had two husbands and four children before 1649 was a legitimate daughter of a man who was born in 1609 and married in 1629.

Judith lived long after 1673. Her husband, John Goldsmith, was one of the menservants transported by Dr. Thomas Gerard in 1650; and, when he died in 1683, he owned at least three estates. In his will he named the following children: Thomas Notley Goldsmith, John Gerard Goldsmith, William Goldsmith, Judith (wife of William Nisinger), Notley Goldsmith (a daughter), Priscilla Goldsmith, Margaret Goldsmith, Sarah Goldsmith, and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Jordan. He also mentioned Thomas Love, a son-in-law. The wives of the others referred to as sons-in-law—William Nisinger and Thomas Jordan—are named, but no wife is named for Thomas Love. She may have been a deceased daughter of John Goldsmith, or Thomas Love may have been a step-son.²⁶ That he named a son John Gerard is no evidence of any family relationship. John Gerard may have been the god father, or John Goldsmith, who was obviously a man on the way up, may have selected the names of prominent men for his sons; Thomas Notley, for example, probably not related, was a prominent man, also.

There are more striking similarities between the Gerard names and those of children of Thomas and Elizabeth Goldsmith Jordan; and there are other unexplained suggestions of a family connection. Thomas Jordan was a freeholder at St. Clement's in 1672,²⁷ and he may have lived there for sometime prior to that. His will signed October 15, 1716, mentioned the following children: Justinian Jordan, Gerard Jordan, Thomas Jordan, Samuel Jordan, and Theodore Jordan.²⁸ Justinian Jordan married

²¹ Archives of Maryland, XLI, p. 178; XLIX, p. 206. See, also, her will *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, I, p. 12.

²² Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard," p. 303.

²³ *Archives of Maryland*, I, pp. 16–19, 466; IV, pp. 23, 507, 527.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ See Charles Frances Stein, *A History of Calvert County* (Baltimore, 1960), pp. 20–23 for a rather romantic account of the Eltonhead family.

²⁶ Will, P.C. 1, folio 44, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁷ *Maryland Archives*, LXIII, p. 635. There seem to have been several different Jordan families in St. Marys and Westmoreland Counties.

²⁸ P.C. 1, folio 202, Hall of Records.

Mary, a daughter of John Coode (whether by Susannah Gerard, his first wife, or by Elizabeth his second wife, is unclear); and he and some of his descendants became prominent in the political life of St. Mary's County.²⁹

It is doubtful that Mary Coode Jordan was a daughter of Susannah Gerard, but the evidence from John Coode's will is ambiguous. In that will of 1708, he mentioned his wife, Elizabeth and the following children: John Coode, William Coode, Richard Coode, Mary Coode, Ann Coode, and Winingfritt (Winifred) Coode.³⁰ He willed his wife the plantation on which he then lived with its livestock for her support during her natural life and for the support of the children she had by him until they reached the age of sixteen if they remained with her that long. After her death that plantation was to be divided between Mary and Ann Coode. Also the "produce" of three negroes to be divided, after his wife's death, among his son, Richard Coode and the three daughters, Mary, Ann, and Winingfritt (Winifred). This will indicates that all the children except John and William were the children of his second wife.

Fourteen years later Richard Coode, Justinian Jordan and wife, Mary, Ann _____, and Winingfritt (Winifred) Coode went into court to recover a legacy of slaves and their increase left them by their father in care of his wife, Elizabeth, who had later married William Hook.³¹ This action indicates that Elizabeth may have been a step mother of Richard, Mary, Ann, and Winifred Coode.

For reasons unknown, Elizabeth Jordan, daughter of John and Judith Goldsmith, wife of Thomas, and mother of Justinian Jordan, was indirectly a residuary legatee and executrix of the estate of Justinian Gerard. The latter married Sarah, widow of Wilkes Maunders, and to her left his whole estate including a large part of St. Clements manor, lands in Westmoreland County, Virginia, a house and land at Newhall, Lancashire, England, and all his personal property.³² Sarah then married Michael Curtis, whom she predeceased and to whom she left much of the property she inherited from her second husband, Justinian Gerard (St. Clements Manor had been sold in 1711 to Charles Carroll.)³³ Michael Curtis died in 1716 and left one of the most remarkable wills in colonial Maryland, particularly with respect to the number of legatees, the generous provisions for his slaves, and the enumeration of small legacies.³⁴ As mentioned above, Elizabeth Jordan was one of the three residuary legatees and executor—the other two were Philip Briscoe, Sr. and Samuel Williamson, Chief Justice of the St. Mary Court—and to her he bequeathed several young slaves to be reared until the age of twenty-one and then, if the law permitted, to be set free, his "large Bible," and several other legacies. As a residuary legatee she received two hundred pounds.³⁵

²⁹ See, for example, *Maryland Archives*, XXXIX, pp. 381–383; XXXVI, pp. 286–287.

³⁰ Wills, Liber 12, folios 341-2, Hall of Records.

³¹ Chancery, Liber 3, Folio 975-76-77, Hall of Records.

³² P.C. 1, folio 68, Hall of Records.

³³ "Interrogationes," folio 122, Hall of Records.

³⁴ P.C. 1., folio 211, Hall of Records. See John Walton, "The Will of Michael Curtis," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, vol. 52 (1970), pp. 108–116.

³⁵ Amount not mentioned in the will—see "Interrogationes."

The reason Elizabeth Jordan was named one of the three residuary legatees and executors of the estate of Michael Curtis is not known. She may have been a relative his deceased wife, of her second husband, Justinian Gerard, or of Michael Curtis, himself. Or she may have been named because she was a neighbor and friend which she certainly was—whom he wanted to take care of his young slaves until they were old enough for manumission. But, whatever the reason, it was not because Judith Goldsmith, her mother, was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard.

We still have Ann to account for. There is no documentary evidence that she was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard. Apparently the fact that she named one of her sons by Walter Broadhurst, Sr., her first husband, Gerard Broadhurst, led Lyon G. Tyler to assume that she was.³⁶ Tyler may have been aware of other circumstantial evidence for this possibility, for example, the fact that Walter Broadhurst, Sr., Ann's first husband, wrote in his will, which was probated, February 12, 1658/59:

As long as my wife continues a widow she shall have all my land for use and the whole stock until my said sons come of age. And if she marry I hereby constitute Mr. Thomas Gerard, Mr. Nathaniel Pope, and Mr. Robert Slye overseers of my children.³⁷

We have no evidence as to what Ann's maiden name was, but we do have what appears to be incontrovertible evidence that she was not a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard. We shall follow that evidence to this conclusion.

On January 10, 1650/51, Walter Broadhurst received a certificate for two hundred acres of land for importing himself, Ann his wife, Elizabeth Broadhurst, and Susan Broadhurst. (We know Elizabeth was a daughter and probably Susan, also.)³⁸ There is a record that he transported himself into the province of Maryland in 1638.³⁹ This information indicates that he came to Maryland, first, where he married and had two children and then moved across the Potomac into Northumberland County, Virginia, although it is possible that he returned to England before going to Virginia. If by 1650 he was married and had two children by his wife, Ann, then she must have been born not later than about 1628. Dr. Thomas Gerard was supposedly married about that time or, perhaps, a year later. Even though it is possible that she was his daughter, it is unlikely, since the chronology must be forced, and Dr. Thomas Gerard transported his family to Maryland in 1650 by which time Ann had two children by a husband who had come to Maryland in 1638.

Walter Broadhurst, Sr., died between January 26, 1658/59 and February 12, 1658/59, the dates respectively of the signing and probation of his will. His wife

³⁶ See Charles Arthur Hoppin, "The Good Name and Fame of the Washingtons," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, IV (1922-1923), p. 322, and Lyon G. Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors," *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 1, IV (1896), pp. 35, 76. It is to Mr. Hoppin's credit that he always recorded this supposition with a question mark: "Anne (Gerard?) Brodhurst."

³⁷ Westmoreland County (Virginia) Will Book, no. 1 (1653-59), p. 121. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Martin of Ashland, Virginia, for his research in the Westmoreland and Northumberland County records.

³⁸ Fleet_____, Abstracts of Northumberland County Records, no. 1, p. 47.

³⁹ *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V, p. 373.

inherited his lands and a tavern at Nomini in Westmoreland County, which she probably owned when she married John Washington in 1669.⁴⁰ However, before she married John Washington, she married, secondly, Henry Brett, sometime between September 6, 1665 and September 27, 1667.⁴¹ Henry Brett died circa 1668/69, and by September 28, 1670, Ann had married John Washington.⁴² Since John Washington was later to marry an undoubted, thrice married and thrice bereaved, daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard, Frances Gerard, Speke, Peyton, Appleton (she was to marry the fifth time), and since the ecclesiastical laws of the Church in Virginia forbade that a man should marry his deceased wife's sister⁴³ Hoppin has justified Tyler's supposition that Ann and Francis were sisters as follows:

... it is my belief that John Washington's second wife, Ann, and third wife, Frances were half-sisters born of the two wives of Dr. Thomas Gerard.⁴⁴

But since we know that Dr. Thomas Gerard had no children by his second wife, this explanation does not hold. Moreover, we do not know that half-sisters did not count; although with the precedent established in the Church of England for a broad interpretation of ecclesiastical law as it applies to matrimony, and with the Anglican virtue of compromise, such an interpretation may have been valid. The problem is that there seems to be no possibility for half-sisters in the Gerard family.

The final evidence is that John Washington's will, written September 21, 1675, mentions "my loving wife, Mrs. Ann Washington."⁴⁵ Thus, Ann was living when Dr. Thomas Gerard wrote his will and mentioned the five daughters that would survive him. It is true she did not survive him for many years, for on May 10, 1676, a "Joynture" was announced between John Washington and Mrs. Frances Appleton, relict of John Appleton.⁴⁶ Hoppin calculates the date of Ann's death between September 21, 1675 and February, 1675/76.⁴⁷

The evidence that Ann Broadhurst, Brett, Washington was not a daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard seems to be consistent. The estimated date of her birth, the ecclesiastical law forbidding a man to marry his deceased wife's sister, and the approximate date of her death would all require considerable forcing to fit them into the known facts about Gerard's daughter. There is a bare possibility that her father thought that Ann would die before he did; therefore the restriction in the will to the five daughters who would "survive" him. But in the light of the other evidence this inference seems extremely tenuous.

⁴⁰ See Hoppin, "The Good Name and Fame of Washingtons," p. 325.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁴² Westmoreland County Records, 1665-1677, folio 99. After a list of large debts left by Henry Brett, Mrs. Ann Brett, als [sic] Washington is mentioned.

⁴³ The Reverend George J. Cleaveland, Registrar of the Diocese, Diocese of Virginia, Richmond, has sent me the List of Prohibited Degrees of Matrimony, which include the prohibition against marrying a man's deceased wife's sister. This List was made law by canon 99 in 1603 in the Church of England. The General Assembly of Virginia required the clergy in Virginia to obey the canon and ecclesiastical laws of England by acts passed in 1619, 1623, 1632, and 1661. See Hening, *Statutes at Large*.

⁴⁴ Hoppin, "The Good Name and Fame of Washingtons," p. 340.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴⁶ Northumberland County Records, 1665-1677, folio 274.

⁴⁷ Hoppin, "The Good Name and Fame of Washingtons," p. 339.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland. By J. A. Leo Lemay. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1972. Pp. xvi, 407. \$13.95.)

Professor J. A. Leo Lemay's survey of ten figures significant in the literary history of colonial Maryland is not only extremely informative but also highly readable. During our present revival of interest in the history and literature of colonial America, the reader desires fewer works which attempt an exhaustive cataloguing of frequently inaccessible authors and the titles of their works and more books like Dr. Lemay's, which make the past live for the reader through a more limited selection and fuller discussion of figures. Professor Lemay rightly senses that his subject neither can sustain nor best be displayed by a "literary history" *per se*. Literary history, after all, assumes a fully self-conscious literature. Professor Lemay's title reflects his realization that the writers of proprietary Maryland are less creators of a literary tradition than they are "men of letters," amateur writers trying their hands at contemporary genres.

For this reason, he has chosen to relate the history of writing in Maryland through a biographical approach. Accepting the thesis of Moses Coit Tyler that the writings of each colony reflect a peculiar "literary accent," Professor Lemay attempts to integrate an account of each author's life, particularly as it casts light upon contemporary affairs in colonial Maryland, with an analysis of his work. The ten men of letters he discusses are representative of three broad stages of development in colonial Maryland: first, the beginnings of the colony, when the first settlements were founded in the mid-seventeenth century; second, the early economic development of Maryland, which saw "King Tobacco" enthroned as the ruler of the economic and social life of the colony early in the eighteenth century; and third, the accelerated establishment of a culture in the mid-eighteenth century, corresponding to the rapid growth of the population centers of the colony, Annapolis and Baltimore.

These stages are reflected in the character of the writings produced, from the earliest promotional tracts to belletristic essays and poems, and they provide a structure within which Professor Lemay may consider these men of letters and their works. Section I, entitled "Wilderness," examines the promotional tracts of the Jesuit Andrew White, the satirical writings of George Alsop, and the polemical works of planter John Hammond. Although these earliest writers continued to think of themselves as Englishmen, indications of an incipient nationalism are apparent even in their works, and Professor Lemay carefully points out evidence of many themes and motifs later recognized as characteristically American—the exaltation of the wilderness, the new Eden, the classless society, the American Dream, and self-reliance, for example. Section II, "The Planter," focuses upon two poets of the late seventeenth century: Ebenezer Cook, the "mock poet laureate of Maryland," whose long satirical poem *The Sot-Weed Factor* is widely known as the basis for the popular novel by John Barth, and the largely unknown but highly praised poet, Richard Lewis, author of "the best nature poem" and "the best neoclassic poem" written in colonial America, according to Professor Lemay. William Parks, who printed the works of both men, is also discussed in this section. Section III, "The Club," considers Jonas Green, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, James Sterling, and Thomas Bacon as representative of mid-eighteenth century literary and cultural life in Maryland. The establishment of the first newspaper, *The Maryland Gazette*, in 1745, which served as a sort of literary forum, together with the founding of the Tuesday Club in

1746, signaled the cultural coming of age of Maryland. The Tuesday Club, with which all four figures of this period were associated, served to bring together men of literary interest, providing a community of experience unavailable to earlier writers and not yet fostered by a large public. The club thus became both a stimulus to literary production and a vehicle for its presentation.

His focus upon these ten figures, far from being a restriction, provides for Professor Lemay the possibility for more detailed critical discussions than are typically found in literary histories. In fact, it is this extensive illustration which imparts both strength and interest to the study. Individual works are not dismissed with a generalization nor excerpted merely to prove a point. Rather, Professor Lemay excerpts selectively throughout to give the reader a sense of the entire work. His detailed discussions are especially welcome in view of the historical remoteness of the material. The reader unfamiliar with eighteenth-century English literature may well miss the subtle allusions in many of these works. Thus, one of Professor Lemay's most helpful services is to point out the intention and accomplishment of the writer in many individual lines. Even more, he tries to present a greater view of the structure of each work in an effort to demonstrate the artistic achievement of the writer.

The book will prove useful and interesting both to the general reader and to the colonial specialist. The extensive illustrations and discussion amply compensate for the fact that most of the works covered are not easily available. At the same time, Professor Lemay's extensive documentation, with both footnotes and an Appendix with bibliographic notes for each writer, will provide considerable help to the specialist in locating copies of original works long out of print. A comprehensive index increases the usability of the book. Worthy of mention also are the introductory essays which begin each of the three major sections. The only addition I might suggest would be an increase in the number of photographic illustrations. Colonial studies profit greatly from a selection of contemporary pictorial illustrations, of which this book has only three. One possibility might be a page from the music of the Reverend Thomas Bacon transcribed by Dr. Alexander Hamilton.

We may praise Professor Lemay's study not only for its thorough research, full documentation, and readable style, but also for the model it provides for future research regarding men of letters in the other American colonies. Every serious student of colonial America should certainly own this book. If other scholars follow Professor Lemay's lead, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* may eventually be the first chapter in a full history of early American literature.

Towson State College

GARY A. WOOD

King George III: A Biography of America's Last Monarch. By John Brooke. (New York: McGraw Hill, American Revolution Bicentennial Program [1972]. Pp. xix, 411. \$12.50.)

Many people tend to remember George III as the king who ruled England during the American Revolution. They associate his name with tyranny, stupidity, incompetence, and insanity. In recent years historians have come to have a much better opinion of George III, but John Brooke is the first to offer that opinion in an authoritative, full-length biography.

Brooke begins by examining George's childhood, education, and early experience in politics. He argues that the prince was neither stupid nor inclined to become a tyrant. He was a shy, lonely, and frightened boy, forced by circumstances to rely on the advice and friendship of his

tutor, John Stuart, Earl of Bute. Bute taught him that kings should lead moral, temperate lives and that the aim of the British constitution was to provide political liberty through freedom of speech and a government in which monarchy, aristocracy, and commons balanced one another. George learned his lessons well. On coming to the throne he did try to end government by party and to resist those ministers who intended to dictate to him. But he made no effort to expand his prerogative.

The king's opposition to constitutional innovations applied to imperial as well as to domestic affairs. Ever an advocate of Parliamentary supremacy throughout the empire, he opposed all efforts on the part of colonies to gain a greater measure of self-government. But, according to Brooke, the king was not to blame for the American rebellion or the subsequent loss of the colonies. The rebellion was, in Brooke's view, inevitable: colonies asserting their right to self-government were bound to clash with a mother country trying to sustain its dominion. When the colonies denied that Parliament had a right to tax them or interfere in their domestic affairs, the British government had to sustain its authority. In advocating firmness the king was expressing a view shared by the ministry, Parliament, and the British public. Only late in the war did he try to thwart Parliament and the nation. By refusing to accept American independence, by insisting that the war be continued longer than most people wished, he lost support both within and without the House of Commons.

Once the war was over, the king quickly recovered his political influence and popularity. He escaped two sets of domineering ministers and found in the younger William Pitt a man who was not only capable of managing the House of Commons but also willing to respect the king's prerogative and his personal wishes. By the mid 1780s the king was beginning to enjoy unprecedented popularity. The rising middle classes admired his unassuming manner and frugality, his simple religious faith, and his sober, moral family life. Country gentlemen found him one of their own—a man who loved to ride and hunt, who enjoyed his neighbors, and whose enthusiasm for the arts and literature was combined with a lively interest in the latest scientific discoveries. But the last thirty-five years of his life were marred by the profligacy of his sons, the recurrence of war with France, and his own intermittent illness (which was never insanity).

George III is not an easy subject. Neither his correspondence nor current scholarship makes it possible to write an evenly proportioned account of his long and varied life—to give, for example, as much attention to his efforts during the American War as to his role in the political transactions of the 1760s. But this is a remarkably successful attempt. The research is thorough and reliable; the writing, clear; and the interpretations, judicious. This is, in short, the best biography of King George III.

Rice University

IRA D. GRUBER

The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality [Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution, Papers presented at the first symposium, May 5 and 6, 1972.]. (Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, 1972. Pp. 157. \$3.50.)

Essays on the American Revolution. Ed. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973. Pp. xi, 320. \$12.50.)

In observance of the bicentennial of the Revolution, both the Library of Congress and the Institute of Early American History and Culture held symposia on the state of historical

knowledge and the directions scholarship will take in the future. The Williamsburg meeting featured major papers by Jack P. Greene, Richard Maxwell Brown, John Shy, H. James Henderson, William G. McLoughlin, and Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin and introductory and concluding addresses by Bernard Bailyn and Edmund S. Morgan. The Library of Congress Symposium was the first of five annual events, each of which will deal with a particular theme. Its published proceedings contain papers by Henry Steele Commager, Caroline Robbins, Richard L. Bushman, Pauline Maier, and Mary Beth Norton; critical comments on those papers by J. H. Plumb, Edmund S. Morgan, Jack P. Greene, and Esmond Wright; and Richard B. Morris's remarks as chairman. To convey an idea of the range, as well as the coherence, of these two collections, the essays may be grouped into four rough categories: (1) broadly thematic overviews of major historical phenomena (Commager, Bailyn, Morgan); (2) new conceptual frameworks relating major interpretive problems to the History of the Revolution as a whole (Greene, Bushman, Shy, Murrin-Berthoff); (3) appraisals of non-political influences upon the course of events during the Revolution (Robbins, Brown, McLoughlin); and (4) reconstructions of integral features of the Revolutionary experience (Henderson, Norton, Maier).

Commager's "America and the Enlightenment" argues that "the Old World imagined the Enlightenment and the New World realized it. The Old World invented it, formalized it, and agitated it; America absorbed it, reflected it, and institutionalized it." Bailyn posits "a view of the central themes of the Revolution" which is "neither whig nor tory, idealistic nor materialistic, liberal nor conservative, a view that might best perhaps be called anthropological." Bailyn amplifies this discussion with intriguing comment on the relationship of the loyalists to the Revolution and of the Revolution to the process of modernization in the West. Morgan's essay argues that though moderate in practice, the Revolution created a system in which the struggle for equality would be a permanent force in politics.

The essays which set forth new conceptual frameworks are probably the most valuable in these books, but they defy capsule summary. Greene's "An Uneasy Connection: An Analysis of the Pre-conditions of the American Revolution" is an elaborate model of the psychic and institutional stresses within the British Empire for fifty years prior to independence. Shy's "The American Revolution: the Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War" is a bold, discriminating use of analogy, to wit that: "the doctrines, the studies, and general experience of 'revolutionary warfare' in the twentieth-century provide some insight into the American Revolutionary War." The Murrin and Berthoff essay is a macro-analysis of American social development from 1725 to 1825 which, first, detects a tendency toward feudal revival in the mid-eighteenth century that the Revolution thwarted; second, they argue that the communal rhetoric of the Revolution eased the creation of "a national government" but made much more difficult the formation of "a national community."

Bushman's "Corruption and Power in Provincial America" is the most interesting essay in either of these volumes. It focuses on the terms corruption and power in Massachusetts politics during the early eighteenth-century and brings this material to bear on the sources of colonial legislative behavior: "How did Americans conceive of their own political processes? Did they see politics as an unending war against legislative corruption, as a constant defense of their liberties against an executive who unscrupulously manipulated patronage to undermine and circumvent the constitutional checks on his power? . . . Did the revolutionary ideology of corruption and conspiracy flow naturally and inevitably from the everyday experience of provincial politicians?" Bushman finds that Massachusetts leaders were not concerned about

patronage as a source of political corruption, but were deeply worried by royal officials' lack of property and social connections in the colony. Only after this apprehension set in in the 1760s, Bushman contends, did the colonists become receptive to English radical ideas about a cancer of corruption in English politics. Profoundly wary of outsiders, the legislators developed a code of public conduct stressing devotion to the public good as the test of virtue and depicting "avarice" as the force which pulled all men not anchored to the rock of the commonweath into a mire of opportunism and arbitrary uses of power.

The studies of non-political influences on Revolutionary thought and practice are concerned with conceptual problems, but the presentation of research findings takes precedence over problems of theory. In "European Republicanism during the Century and a Half before 1776," Robbins explores the writings of the English levellers, French philosophes, Dutch bourgeoisie, and leaders of Italian city states. She concludes that European experience with republican movements provided American revolutionaries with specific, practical political maxims. Brown argues that "the colonial tradition of insurgency" and the "habitual use of riot as a purposive weapon of protest and dissent" in England and America combined to precipitate violence in the struggle against British policy. Growing out of these two traditions of violence, Brown contends, was a new attitude toward authority in the new republic; popular sovereignty and the moral weight of the body of the people predisposed Americans to practice vigilante justice, mob violence, and other aggression of the majority against the minority. William G. McLoughlin's title and sub-title could profitably be reversed to read "Liberty of Conscience and Cultural Cohesion in the New Nation: the Role of Religion in the Revolution," for the legal status of the churches and the need to hold national culture together dominates his essay. Neither theology nor the work of Alan Heimert is even mentioned. McLoughlin's painstaking survey of church-state relations—like Murrin-Berthoff—finds post-Revolutionary culture dangerously fragmented; in the interests of cohesion, American leaders adopted a quasi-establishment of Protestantism.

Finally, three of the essays are case studies of political behavior in Revolutionary society. Maier argues that the Revolution was moderate in method because it was radical in ideology. American leaders imbibed republicanism so deeply by 1770 that they could turn their attention to achieving unity and consensus in insurrectionary activities. Norton insists that the loyalists shared whig attitudes about liberty and consent; only a wrenching process of transferring allegiance separated loyalists from patriots. Henderson argues that the machinations of the Continental Congress were a fruitful political experience for the young nation because Congress developed regional eastern, middle, and southern voting alignments based on coherent New England and southern political philosophies and concepts of nationhood. Both the New England and southern philosophies had to win a measure of stability and security before the nation could undertake the drafting and ratification of a new constitution.

Taken together, the bulk of these essays suggest that the next major task for historians is to comprehend the process of politicization itself—the devices, issues, symbol systems, and circumstances which aroused the populace to embrace experimental, republican politics during the War for Independence. By pointing to the gaps and flaws in political and social cohesion in the new nation, the essays suggest that the mobilizing of previously inert political passions and energies was a desperate expedient—a kind of adrenalin—which left the political culture flushed, a little fevered, but irreversibly nationalized.

From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776. By Pauline Maier. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972. Pp. xviii, 318, xxvi. \$10.00.)

Inside this book fat with excellent research is a lean, muscular thesis struggling to get out. Rapid readers will see that Pauline Maier has taken pains with her scholarship, but only through careful, reflective study will her conclusions become clear. *From Resistance to Revolution* traces the evolution of colonial protest from the Stamp Act to the outbreak of hostilities, no simple development. The author quite properly does not make life easy for lazy readers by slurring over the complexities, ambiguities, and nuances of her subject. Perhaps Ms. Maier may choose at some other time to condense her findings in a brief essay. For the present, every bit of research in the book is purposefully employed, and if there is more precision than pointedness in its exposition, the thesis stands because of the accumulated factual detail.

Legitimate resistance to illegitimate authority was the theme of colonial opposition to British policies. It is also the theme of this book. Among theories of the Revolution's causes, one may choose emphases ranging from the century-old claim that it was a very English, very conservative movement, to runaway-democracy notions which have been expounded with varying degrees of Germanic ponderousness. In the book in question, the hypothesis of English conservatism is presented with such a weight of scholarship that no one will be able to indulge a simplistic fantasy of colonial leaders as manipulative rabble-rousers swept away by mob power. Ms. Maier understands the importance of popular violence; she also understands the concern of American leaders to restrain and redirect its force into channels more effective than mere riots. During the ideological transition to revolution through successive stages of disillusion, the great issues of political theory were expounded. Thus a parcel of provincials saw their quandary in terms of a universal struggle against tyranny. Their values and assumptions were specifically English. Their reasoning was traditional, perhaps even more classical than Ms. Maier cares to stress. Their conclusions were peculiarly American, as republicanism and independence were embraced with conviction. All along, colonial opposition conformed to accepted principles, for the Sons of Liberty did not wish to be Sons of License.

Beginning with a review of the Real Whig ideology that dominated colonial response to the central government, Ms. Maier proceeds with a careful regard to the interconnection of events during the decade in question. As hopes for redress were dashed, more than a paranoid fear developed concerning a plot to crush English liberties in America—and England. A paragovernment also took shape. This book suggests how the desire for justice with order moved directors of colonial resistance to create an instrument of self rule. The Sons of Liberty organized peaceful opposition to the British in order to avert more violent responses, and in so doing reified current ideals of the social contract. By their sobriety and discipline, colonial leaders avoided submission to the despotism of either the administration or the mob. Thus they were prepared to govern themselves when they felt all other remedies were exhausted. As this thesis unfolds, it is illustrated with a convincing breath of evidence from all thirteen colonies.

Maryland historians will find sufficient bibliographic leads to pursue the thesis on familiar ground. Ms. Maier points out the colony's importance in communication links of the resistance. In an appendix identifying Sons of Liberty, Baltimore gentlemen come off rather better than those of Annapolis; some civic minded scholar should test Charles Carroll's quoted disparagement of the Annapolitans. As the capital had been a scene of violent action, the thesis that radical energies were redirected into pacific expression should be scrutinized by specialists in local history.

Such specialists, students of the Revolution, and those readers who share the fashionable interest in violent political behavior will all find *From Resistance to Revolution* a useful study. They should benefit from the book's ample documentation. Besides the appendix on the Sons of Liberty already mentioned, a list is provided of unpublished manuscripts in England and the United States relevant to resistance in the colonies, 1765-75. However much the heaps of data and subtheses seem at times to obscure this book's message, they are necessary, welcome to students with particular interests, and will reward careful readers with a deeper appreciation of the antecedents of the American Revolution.

University of Kansas

MIRYAM N. KAY

Archives of Maryland, Volume LXXII, *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland: Journal of the Council, 1789-1793*. Ed. Richard Walsh. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972. Pp. xiii, 395. \$7.50.)

The latest volume of the *Archives of Maryland* fully upholds the high editorial standards that one has come to expect from the series. The proceedings of the council are clearly and attractively presented, the index is serviceable, and page references to the original folio journals are included in the text for easy checking if necessary.

Substantively, the material presented in this volume is of rather limited value to students of the period. The authority of the governor and council under the Maryland constitution of 1776 was highly circumscribed; the real power in the young state was given to the legislative branch. As a result the proceedings of the council contained in this volume are concerned largely with routine matters: approving payment of certain government obligations, appointing justices of the peace, commuting fines or jail sentences, and the like. Occasionally, though, the council did turn to matters of more historical significance.

The council's business in the early federal period continued to reflect the economic difficulties from which Maryland had suffered in the 1780s. Numerous entries for 1789 record extensions of time granted to tax collectors who still had not been able to complete the collection of taxes due in the years 1784-1788. The council granted indulgences to many other state debtors under the terms of an act of assembly, dealt with problems concerning unpaid debts due from purchasers of confiscated British property, and retained Samuel Chase to defend the state in a suit brought by the Van Staphorst firm of Amsterdam, from which Maryland had borrowed money during the War for Independence. These and other entries make the present volume as interesting to students of the Confederation period as to scholars dealing with the 1790s. Also of special note is the council's decision in 1790 to certify William Pinkney's election to Congress despite the fact that he did not reside in the district he represented. The written dissenting opinions of Governor John Eager Howard and Councilor John Kilty provide evidence illuminating an early dispute over the interpretation of the U.S. Constitution.

Future volumes of the *Archives of Maryland* will continue to print the council journals up to the year 1821. Continued competent editorial work and well-designed formats can be expected. These materials have never been printed and their publication is therefore welcome, although the restricted powers of the council may continue to limit the extent of its journal's usefulness as a historical source.

Indiana University at Fort Wayne

JAMES HAW

Champion of Southern Federalism: Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina. By Joseph W. Cox. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972. Pp. 230. \$12.50.)

Justification for writing still another biography of a second-rank Federalist must rest on one of two grounds. Either the subject must have been unique in that his public career was controversial or his contribution to political debate crucial, perhaps his name be connected with some significant event or episode which historical scholarship has neglected; or, if the subject is merely representative, the biography must be well executed, perceptive, and illuminating. Robert Goodloe Harper fails to qualify under the first criterion, and Joseph W. Cox's volume fails under the second. Harper's position on major legislation in the 1790s is precisely what one might expect, and the author trods familiar paths, explaining once again Jay's treaty, the XYZ affair, the Alien and Sedition laws, and the election of 1800. Victor Sapiro has suggested that many biographies of second-rank Federalist leaders are fundamentally interchangeable, and Cox's study is a prime example of Sapiro's thesis.

In order to sound revisionist Cox makes some ridiculous claims about the current state of historiography respecting the Federalists. For example, he writes: "There has been among historians a nearly universal attempt to exonerate the president and the so-called Adams Federalists by emphasizing the significance of the Hamiltonian influence and the extremists' ability to dominate the proceedings of the legislature. Thus, it is possible to take a highly sympathetic attitude toward Federalism in abstract terms by differentiating between 'good' as opposed to 'bad' Federalists" (p. 138). Rather than exonerating Adams, recent scholarship concedes that his hawkish pronouncements catalyzed the anti-French hysteria which swept the nation; rather than excusing various Federalists of culpability for the Alien and Sedition laws, recent scholarship recognizes the degrees to which virtually all party members supported those laws; rather than emphasizing Hamilton's power, recent scholarship details his steadily waning influence after 1797. To be sure, historians have tried to differentiate between moderates and extremists among the Federalists—and few would place Hamilton in the extremist camp—but I know of none who think in terms of "good" or "bad" Federalists. When Cox does correct a historical misinterpretation—on the minor issue of Harper's alleged Jacobin sympathies before his election in 1794—he believes it merits repetition, and so tells it twice (pp. 29–32, 41–44).

The writing style is pedantic and the research faulty. For example, Cox tells us that the "evidence documenting" Harper's college years at Princeton "is slight," but the footnotes indicate that he relied solely upon the Harper-Pennington manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society. A trip to the Princeton archives would have been in order. It would have been interesting to learn whether Harper belonged to the Whig or the Cliosophic Society and what position he took in student debates. Similarly, Harper's role in the William Blount impeachment is poorly handled. Blount was expelled from the United States Senate in July 1797, not in 1796. Harper was hardly "cast in the role of a civil libertarian in opposition to his fellow Federalists," but in fact delivered the longest of any speeches for the prosecution—a speech which Cox does not trouble to mention.

The final chapter, which is meant to afford the reader some idea of Harper's life and career after his move to Baltimore in 1799, contains, in consecutive order: an account of Baltimore's economic expansion, grain business, population growth, major streets and buildings, the geography of Maryland and the sources of Federalist strength, religious and property qualifications for voting, the feud between Harper and John Francis Mercer, Harper's courting of and marriage to Charles Carroll's daughter, their family, their financial affairs, leaders of the Maryland bar (William Pinkney is mentioned, though not Luther Martin), Harper's part in the

defense of Baltimore in 1814, his death. The logic of this chapter eludes the reviewer. No mention is made of Harper's argument in the Chase trial or his counsel in cases such as Fletcher vs. Peck or Osborn vs. Bank.

University of California, Santa Barbara

MORTON BORDEN

The Old Dominion & The New Nation, 1788-1801. By Richard R. Beeman. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972. Pp. xiv, 282. \$11.00.)

This scholarly monograph fills a void by offering an informed view of Virginia politics in the Federal period. The author is basically a narrative historian, but he adds a quantifier's touch in his treatment of leaders, interest groups, and party lines in the state's House of Delegates. Despite some flaws, the book will command attention because of what it covers and because it is a serious study which merited honorable mention in the 1971 competition for the prestigious Frederick Jackson Turner Award.

Beeman's primary concern is the point of contact between Virginia politicians and the new American government. Concentrating on the state legislature and on party leadership, he is less involved with what Virginians were doing in the county courts, at one level, and in the national executive and legislative branches at another. This restricted focus is both a strength and a weakness. It enables Beeman to illuminate some previously shadowy terrain, but the result is a rather incomplete landscape.

The author has two main arguments. First, he believes the old Virginia system of deferential, oligarchic politics continued in this era, and, second, he maintains that local interests provided the seedbed for party development. The two are joined easily enough: Virginia leaders responded defensively to the Constitution and to the new central government because both threatened grassroots autonomy and a style of politics that had well served the Old Dominion and its elite; their negative response was structured eventually into the Republican party.

Accordingly, Beeman sees continuity between opposition to the Constitution in 1788 and opposition to the policies of Hamilton, Washington, and Adams in the decade which followed. At the same time, many Virginians who originally favored the Constitution did so with strings attached, and the Federalists of the 1790s were lukewarm, frequently on the defensive, and always in the minority. Spokesmen on both sides, however, came from the same class of traditional leaders.

In developing these ideas, Beeman covers the major political controversies of the period. The familiar topics are there—from the ratification struggle in 1788 to Jefferson's election in 1800-1801—and the vantage point is often that of the House of Delegates. Also of interest are other, lesser-known subjects which are usually introduced without being fully explored. The latter would include problems of frontier defense and militia inefficiency, corruption in the county courts, the Virginia electorate's massive apathy and occasional illegality, the mechanics of an emerging party system, the aristocrat's use of legislation to protect his slave property and his pocketbook (from increased taxes), and the partisan influences behind religious issues.

Although informative and suggestive on the whole, the book has its disappointing aspects. It is hardly a revelation to suggest that the Old Dominion was noted for oligarchic politics, that its leaders were of the "better sorts," and that they were sensitive to agrarian considerations and local pressures. Furthermore, the author falls short of a full analysis of grassroots in-

terests, does little to establish a social or economic basis for political behavior, and tends to underestimate the role of Virginia Republicans who operated on the national level. Some historians will have difficulty accepting Beeman's use of formal party labels in the early 1790s and his emphasis on continuity. His writing is clear, but there are factual errors. Finally, this reviewer felt uncomfortable throughout the monograph by what seemed to be slightly too much argument and too little documentation.

Virginia Commonwealth University

DANIEL P. JORDAN

Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business, 1752-1839. By John S. Pancake. (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1972. Pp. 248. \$8.50.)

Biographies are the most fun but the most difficult to write because they try to balance the reality surrounding the subject with what the subject thought was real; they judiciously assess the significance both of the subject's overall contribution to history as well as the subject's isolated reactions to specific events; and they maintain that detached perspective—running the gamut from compassion to condemnation—which illustrates how historians but not historical personages may be larger than life.

Unfortunately, this volume violates the biographer's craft on several counts. Only the barest description of the realities in which Smith operated is presented to the reader; the author does not seem to be aware of the increasing gap between these realities and what Smith thought was real; assessments of Smith's general significance are almost totally lacking; and the historian's perspective is frequently blended with that of the subject, leaving the reader confused about the separation of historical from present reality. Mr. Pancake obviously likes Smith and knows a great deal about his life but has given us an uncritical—in the best sense of the word—biography about him, and many of us are disappointed.

The pity is that Samuel Smith really deserves a thoughtful biography. The main outline of Smith's career as merchant, military leader, and politician are well known, and Mr. Pancake relates them in felicitous prose. In the first thirty-eight pages the author discusses Smith's Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian family connections, his mercantile training by his father, his early mercantile career, his involvement in the American Revolution as the "Hero of Fort Mifflin" (or "Fort Mud" as his critics dubbed it), and then his return to the life of a Baltimore merchant during the late 1770s and 1780s. This latter career is well described by Mr. Pancake who shows how Smith used his connections to become a privateer, a government contractor, and to continue in trade. Almost unconsciously, the reader is led by the skillful prose of Mr. Pancake to see how the Revolution created new opportunities that expanded Baltimore's social economy and thereby accelerated the physical growth of the community.

The remainder of the book (except for chapters eight and nine which discuss Smith's military role in the defense of Baltimore in 1814) deals with Smith's political career. His election to the House of Representatives as a Federalist and his break with that party over Jay's Treaty are described. Then Mr. Pancake details Smith's important political role in the election of 1800 and his subsequent role as a Jeffersonian party leader. This is the strongest part of the book as Mr. Pancake illustrates how Smith reached the zenith of his political career from 1798 to 1811 and then how the War of 1812 saved his reputation. Smith is rightly painted in these pages as a pragmatic politician, intuitive and practical rather than ideological and theoretical.

Smith's role in the War of 1812 and especially his successful defense of Baltimore in 1814 revived his political career, and Smith returned to Congress in January 1816, where he remained until the end of the session in 1833. Mr. Pancake describes Smith's occasional clashes with Henry Clay over the former's free trade ideas and laissez faire nationalism, Smith's support of Crawford in the 1824 presidential election, and Smith's concern both for the re-opening of American trade with the British West Indies as well as for Americans making commercial reciprocity agreements with European nations.

But this is one of the weakest sections of the book because Mr. Pancake does not explain Smith's shift from the politics of self-interest to a politics of ideology. For example, the reader learns nothing of the structure of Maryland politics from 1816 to 1833; the ideological shift away from institutional nationalism toward "unionism," or sentimental nationalism, that was born both from the war and the post-war depression; or of Smith's pragmatic acquiescence to these resurfaced forces in the hope of regaining his lofty political power of the very early 1800s. This lack of background is precisely why the reader is left wondering how Smith's political decisions could so often counter the wishes of his primary constituents, the *Baltimoreans* (pp. 167-69, 187). Smith was a United States Senator, sometimes appointed and sometimes elected by a Maryland legislature that was dominated by the "new conservatives" during the 1820s; he had little choice but to follow the direction of more powerful men in Maryland.

Yet this political framework is as conceptually weak as the book is as a whole, and it misinterprets Smith's career as a politician. For example, the "Politics of Business" portion of the book's title is misleading and does not fulfill its promise. Mr. Pancake agrees with the general interpretation of Smith as an astute merchant who carried his business habits of thought into political life to become a non-ideological pragmatic realist (pp. 59, 196). But Smith was more than that. He was a conscious participant in the business revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that set the stage for the American industrial revolution, but then he fell victim to these very forces he helped to create. Politically, Smith was out of touch with business realities for the last twenty-three years of his life, and, as an active businessman, he had been out of touch with business for about twelve years before that. This was why Smith's ideas about commercial reciprocity bore such little fruit in reality. Smith's perceptions of the "Politics of Business" were quite different from the real politics of business—as Mr. Pancake illustrates in chapters twelve and thirteen. But Mr. Pancake fails to assess the significance of Smith's ideas about business in any large way because he portrays Smith from an individual perspective instead of dealing with Smith's ideas in relation to their historical context. Baltimore and American realities changed but Smith's ideas had not.

On balance, this biography is uneven in style (the first part is much better written than the second part), content (much too political), treatment of certain topics (for example, who opposed Smith in Baltimore and in Maryland?), and is much too brief (194 pages of text) to treat the life of such an important figure as Samuel Smith. And if the book seems hurriedly written, it also seems hurriedly put together. The footnotes are at the back of the volume, and the bibliography is divided simply between primary and secondary sources and relies upon a very narrow range of primary sources. The index, however, is very good as are the inclusion of pictures of Samuel, Robert, and Margaret Spear Smith, maps, and some landscape views of Baltimore. But why is there no list of these pictures, diagrams, and maps in the preliminaries? Very few errors can be found. Dabney Carr, for example, became editor of the *Baltimore Republican*, not the *American* (footnote 6, p. 210); James William McCulloh, protege of George Williams and cashier of the new branch of the Second Bank of the United States in

Baltimore until 1819, spelled his name this way, not McCulloch (p. 144); and a printing error can be found in a garbled sentence in lines two and three of page 99.

Wayne State University

GARY BROWNE

The War of 1812. By John K. Mahon. (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1972. Pp. xii, 476. \$12.50.)

Why did Admiral George Cockburn destroy all the capital "C's" in the type collection of the Washington *National Intelligence*? Who were the Wild Oats Indians? What is a Water Winnebago? Answers to such questions are found in Professor Mahon's book, published by his university's press. The work is basically military history, with some analytical comments within the narrative. Mahon says that he searched and studied all materials dealing with the military action of the conflict. He does not comment on the causes of the war because "able scholars . . . have made that unnecessary." He stresses the value of detailed narrative vs. overgeneralization and unsupported speculation: "The past can live for present readers only when it is presented in detail," he declares; yet readers may "easily skim" the details if they do not "need" them.

Mahon is a good storyteller; he has particular ability to use anecdotes to keep the tale moving. Some of these short accounts are obviously apocryphal, others seem so by his own implication. Previous war histories tell of the struggle to a standstill between the United States, potentially strong but inept in organizing and applying her might, and Great Britain, strong but distracted by Napoleon for most of the war. Mahon's contribution is to give new substance to support several facets of this generalization. To a large extent, the author lets the sources of information on battles and leaders tell their own story. Not much is heard from the lower ranks. Logistics, which this writer's more limited study indicates was about half the battle, received little attention.

Mahon hopes the book will be "definitive," but there will have to be some changes first. For instance, Mahon's work with the war here and elsewhere must have led him to some conclusions on war causes, which may have been stated before, but are not compatible. Second, the author invites criticism by claiming to put the military action "within the politics and culture of the time." This is not done in several important ways. For example, to cover politics and the war, one cannot virtually ignore the *Annals of Congress* after the declaration of war. When Mahon tries to analyze American public attitude or British politics as they bore on the war, he does not use all the available pertinent materials and hence renders an incomplete account. He says elsewhere that war consequences need to be stressed, but does not take the opportunity himself. He may have read all the battlefield accounts he could find, nevertheless several others, mainly primary sources, come to mind. Sometimes the best sources are not used, as in the case of the background sketch of William Henry Harrison. Finally, the manuscript should have been prepared more carefully. Characters, sometimes without first names, are introduced and one waits many pages for the whole name and supporting background material. "Oliver Hazard Perry" and "Admiral Mahan" get this treatment. Mahon seems to forget what he said when he divides an account of the American raider *Essex* by 208 pages. Discussion of British domestic affairs on page 95 seems uncoordinated with that of pages 10 and 56. These are not isolated examples. There are usage and factual errors too, albeit not many. The *Lossing Field Book* maps are not well matched to the text. The uninformed lay reader might reasonably conclude

from the anachronistic Lossing map of Tippecanoe battlefield that the fighting took place between a college campus and a railroad track.

In sum, Mahon presents much information, but might have done better. The serious student of the combat can profit from the depth of much of the author's research here and in England, but must turn elsewhere for a clear idea of the relative importance of the battles, the war's causes and consequences. The nonspecialist will enjoy and learn, but must read the whole book to judge its merit. One cannot tell the "need" of detail until such is read. Marylanders will find much material on the Chesapeake campaigns. All will be challenged by the abundance of detail, the lack of emphasis and overall analysis, and the organizational problems. Perhaps everyone interested may wait with hope for a deserved—and needed—revised edition.

Milwaukee Public Library

PAUL J. WOEHRMANN

Orestes Brownson and the American Republic: An Historical Perspective. By Hugh Marshall, S. T. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1971; distrib. by Consortium Press, Washington. Pp. vii, 308. \$13.95.)

This is the best as well as the fullest study in print of the political philosophy of the nineteenth century American intellectual, Orestes Brownson (1803–76). Structurally, the book may be divided into three parts. The first section sketches Brownson's life through his 1844 conversion to Roman Catholicism and establishes the origins of his interest in political theory. The second part (chapters IV–VII) delineates his political thought between the mid 1840s and the early 1860s. Marshall's organizational principle is thematic here and successive chapters discuss the "Patriot," "Anti-Abolitionist," "Freesoiler," and "Secession." Underpinning all else was Brownson's concept of state sovereignty, following Calhoun. The third section considers the restructuring of Brownson's theories during the Civil War years culminating in his major work, *The American Republic*, published late in 1865. The central concept during this period was that of national sovereignty, the territorial sovereignty of the people united as the American republic.

Among published studies of Brownson's thought—some three dozen Ph.D. and M.A. theses have been completed—Marshall's is one of the few to incorporate letters and other materials from the University of Notre Dame's rich Brownson archives and the result adds considerably to his analysis. Another strength is Marshall's reiteration throughout the study that Brownson nearly always "sought a balance or *dialectic*, in a unity of diversities" (pp. 92–93), though once made the insight is more restated than fruitfully explored.

Despite its considerable value, Marshall's work contains several deficiencies. Perhaps most serious is the scope of the book. The title is misleading. Not a full-blown analysis of Brownson's political thought, it is a slightly revised 1962 dissertation accurately entitled "Orestes Brownson and the American Civil War" with two new chapters (I and III). These provide an oversimplified account of the first forty years of Brownson's life taken almost solely from standard biographies and an 1857 autobiography, *The Convert*. Not one additional source published since 1961 has been consulted and this proves especially unfortunate since three excellent dissertations were completed during the 1960s, each of which illuminates Brownson's political thought in a manner equal to Marshall. (Joseph Farry, "Themes of Continuity and Change in the Political Philosophy of Orestes Brownson: A Comparative Study." [Ph.D.

Fordham University, 1968]; Charles McCarthy, "The Political Philosophy of Orestes Brownson." [Ph.D. University of Toronto, 1962]; and Leonard Gilhooley, "Orestes Brownson and the American Idea 1838-1860." [Ph.D. Fordham University, 1961].) Brownson's political philosophy began to develop consistency in the late 1820s and remained so thereafter. Father Marshall has thus seriously neglected the whole Jacksonian phase of Brownson's political thought.

Perhaps next in seriousness is Marshall's limited definition of political thought, resulting in more of a study of responses to political and constitutional actions in the country than an analysis of political philosophy *per se*. Finally, the context of Marshall's discussion is often confused because of his failure to understand Brownson's political thought as inextricable from his broader intellectual orientation at any given point in time. As Brownson once put it, "It is idle to attempt to separate the political question from the ethical, the metaphysical or the theological" (*Democratic Review*, 13 [Sept., 1843], 258.) All in all, it is important to have a solid study of Brownson's political thought in print, and Marshall's is the best to date. Keeping in mind that it is far from definitive, students of the mid-nineteenth century American mind will find *Orestes Brownson and the American Republic* helpful in understanding the conservative perspective.

Stockton State College

WILLIAM J. GILMORE

Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft. By James T. Patterson. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972. Pp. xvi, 749. \$12.50.)

In the Senate Reception Room, just outside the Senate Chamber in the United States Capitol, there are portraits of five senators selected as those who "left a permanent mark on our nation's history and brought distinction to the Senate." The committee which in 1957 chose five men from the entire history of the Senate to be portrayed named four men from the eras of Congressional dominance: Calhoun, Webster, Clay, and Robert LaFollette. Only one man was named from the "modern" period marked by the beginning of the Depression: Robert Alphonso Taft of Ohio.

Taft was no one's idea of the consummate politician. Neither handsome nor graceful nor a compelling public speaker, he was stubborn, sometimes heedless of sentimental or humanitarian considerations, and, as noted in many an anecdote, abrupt even to the point of rudeness with those he felt were wasting his time.

Yet, through the application of an outstanding intellect and a willingness to persist doggedly in his objectives, he managed to dominate in an arena where leadership is not granted casually, where every man has had to demonstrate leadership himself merely to gain entrance. Taft was able to dominate in this arena because he knew more, because he worked harder, and because his integrity was unquestioned. The son of a president, he went much further than that heritage alone would have carried him.

But, as James Patterson points out in this biography, the first one written with access to family papers, Taft's greatest strength lay in the unrelenting manner in which he pursued his objectives. Carefully reconstructing Taft's early years, an outwardly dull progression from prep school to college to law school to bright young man in government staff positions and finally to local politics in Ohio, Patterson returns again and again to the development of character and outlook which explain the man who arrived relatively late in life on the national political stage. Later campaigns against foreign entanglements, including years of opposition to this nation's

arming for World War II, had their roots in earlier first hand experiences with American colonialism in the Pacific and efforts to rebuild Europe's economy in the wake of World War I.

History has found Taft wrong on many specific issues. Although Patterson was chosen by the Taft family to write an "authorized" biography, there were no efforts to impose editorial judgments on the product (the same approach used by Taft himself, who kept hands off the authorized, and quite critical, biography of William Howard Taft), and the author's judgments make no attempt to gloss either the mistakes or the bullheadedness with which Taft stuck by them long after they were apparent.

The principles which led him to numerous pitfalls have, however, survived the test of years, and many of Taft's statements on Executive power grabbing and federal bureaucracies are ruefully pertinent for the Congress, and the nation, in the 1970s.

Taft's public image was perhaps more severe than it might have been, but his intellectual assurance and a real shyness unusual in such a public figure worked against him. Harold Ickes, after one meeting, commented, "I doubt whether he has many human emotions." Yet letters to his wife reveal an exceptionally deep relationship of equals so in harmony that one cannot accept the public Taft as more than a shadow cast by the whole man. I recall one anecdote placed at Washington's exclusive Sulgrave Club, where a doorman loudly called for chauffeurs to bring their limousines to the entrance as the dignitaries left, and as Taft approached, boomed "Senator Taft's car!" over the loudspeaker system. Taft, whose aging auto had no chauffeur, deflated the whole production by saying, "It's a very good car, but it doesn't come when you call it." Authoritative and confident when pressing an issue dear to him, he remained unpretentious and without personal vanity throughout his life.

In Maryland, I remember that Taft's appearances were remarkably successful. He was received with an almost reverential awe which you would not be likely to find today for any public figure. Despite the political battles which swirled around him, he maintained a reputation for integrity which closed off any possibility of personal attack and forced opponents to make their stand on the issues and the facts of the matter at hand.

The Senate of Taft's day was not vastly different from that of today, except for the generous recesses which now seem to be gone forever in this age of unfinished business. Reforms of the seniority system, the committee structure unsuitable for dealing with the tasks facing the Congress, the battle against the eternal tendency of executive aggrandizement to unbalance the Constitutional equality of the Executive and Congress, and many other issues of Taft's Senate are still with us now as tasks undone, and mostly only half begun. Although two decades have added to the evidence available to us, the great questions of the proper role of government in society and the effectiveness of programs administered at the federal level are still open.

In an era during which the pendulum threatened to swing too far under pressures brought on by the Depression and the maturity of the United States as the pre-eminent world power, Taft may have served to counterbalance our system and thus preserve the internal tensions which allow us time after time to regain an even keel after periods of great crisis. Taft's strivings for the presidency, frustrated each time by the political climate and by his own refusal to depart from his principles for political advantage, cannot be seen as wasted effort in this light. And despite the frustrations which befell him as he tried to act as a brake on many of the deep movements in the nation's political processes, I agree with Patterson's summation that Taft's life cannot be considered an unfulfilled one: "It was given to him as it is too few men: to embark on a career he had been trained to follow and to pursue it effectively until the day he died."

BOOK NOTES

The History of Wisconsin, vol. I, *From Exploration to Statehood*. By Alice E. Smith. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1973. Pp. xiv, 753. \$15.00.) Since 1854, when Lyman Draper became its Corresponding Secretary and the state began its funding, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been the standard by which other societies are measured, and usually found wanting. With this publication the SHSW again justifies its reputation. Aided by contributions by local businesses and foundations, and backed by the funds and scholars of the University of Wisconsin, the SHSW has begun a monumental six volume history of the state. If the rest measure up to Miss Smith's, they will constitute a distinguished series indeed. Although she begins with the period of French exploration in the seventeenth century, and continues through the period of English domination, 1707-1815, discussing in the process the fur trade and Indian affairs, the bulk of her work centers on the period after 1815 leading to statehood. Writing with verve and wit, backed by enormous erudition, Miss Smith presents a balanced, intelligent, and well-documented survey of the political, demographic, business, social, cultural, and religious history of the Wisconsin Territory. Her notes and the excellent forty-six page "Essay on Sources" attest to her research, buttressed by extensive citations to manuscript collections as well as unpublished theses and dissertations. The author was chief of the maps and manuscripts division of the SHSW from 1929 to 1946, and its director of research from 1947 to 1964. *From Exploration to Statehood*, handsomely produced, with twenty-two maps, two sections of photographs, footnotes at the bottom of the page, and a detailed index, is an imposing monument to its civic sponsors, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Miss Smith. Would that other states would follow this example.

The Mystic Warriors of the Plains. By Thomas E. Mails. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972. Pp. 635. \$25.00.) This is a generally well-written, copiously illustrated study of the customs and the spiritual and material culture of the Plains Indians during their period of cultural efflorescence (ca. 1750-1875). The author, who doubles as illustrator, is a Lutheran minister who has long been enthralled by the beliefs and practices of the historic Indians of the Plains. Mails's status as a buff results in both the strengths and weaknesses of this book. His fascination with his chosen subject is infectious. His descriptions of implement and resource usage and his explanations of various cultural activities are invariably lucid and should engross and enlighten most readers, few of whom probably have the inclination to examine the detailed, scholarly volumes where this information has long been available. Mails's paintings and sketches, whether based on actual artifacts, or adapted from the work of earlier artists, illustrators and photographers, are almost always informative and are beautifully done. On the other hand, Mails is too prone to broad and inaccurate generalizations that project a misleading picture of Plains Indian homogeneity and pre-white harmony that ignores the vibrant variety of the groups who called the Plains their home. Mails is further inclined to speculate on matters where his lack of knowledge betrays him. He rejects out of hand the well-documented theory that the first Americans migrated from Asia across a Bering Sea land bridge during the last Ice Age, ascribing instead to the unsubstantiated view that "Some tribes were always here in all parts of North America." [Douglas Martin]

Sailing Vessels of the Chesapeake. (Annapolis: Admiralty Publishing House, Ltd., 1973. \$19.95.) is the first portfolio in a planned series from the International Historical Watercraft Collection painted, in gouache, by the widely known marine artist Melbourne Smith. In creating his paintings, Mr. Smith worked from original source plans, resulting in an accurate broadside view of the entire hull and sail plan. Using authentic coloring and a minimum of shading, the effect is not only instructive but a most pleasing depiction of each vessel. The selection of subjects is comprehensive, including in the nine paintings all the well known Chesapeake Bay types. The series begins with a pilot schooner of 1794, then a clipper schooner of 1812, and continues to the more modern local sailing workboats. Robert H. Burgess, Curator of the Mariner's Museum, gives us a brief introduction which sketches in outline the developmental history of each type of craft. The reproductions are nicely printed on heavy paper, and each can readily be detached from the book for individual framing. The price for nine attractive lithographs is certainly not expensive and should have a great appeal to anyone interested in the variety of vessels that have developed in our local waters. [Ferdinand E. Chatard]

A generation of Americans have based their understanding of the Salem witch trials of 1692-93 upon Arthur Miller's moving drama, *The Crucible*, which perhaps illuminates the era of Senator Joseph McCarthy better than it does that of Cotton Mather. Recently there has emerged a new interest in witchcraft as a historical problem, and Chadwick Hansen's *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, 1969) popularized a more judicious interpretation. Witchcraft was believed and practiced in New England as well as in Old England and much of Europe. In addition to asking why there was a rash of witch hysteria at Salem in 1692, we should ask why there were comparatively so few such outbreaks. John Demos has recently applied the techniques of psychology and anthropology in his article, "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth-Century New England," *American Historical Review*, 75 (June 1970), 1311-26, identifying the social role of the belief in witches. Because of this renewed interest, the New York reprint house of Burt Franklin has performed a distinct scholarly service by making several classics in the field widely available: *Annals of Witchcraft in New England and Elsewhere In the United States From Their First Settlement, Drawn Up From Unpublished and Other Well Authenticated Records of the Alleged Operations of Witches and Their Instigator, the Devil.* By Samuel G. Drake. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972. Originally published, 1869. Pp. liii, 306. \$12.50.); *Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692. Together With A Review of the Opinions of Modern Writers and Psychologists In Regard to Outbreaks of Evil in America.* By Winfield S. Nevins. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971. Originally published, 1916. Pp. 273. \$15.00.); and *The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut, 1647-1697.* By John M. Taylor. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971. Originally published, 1908. Pp. xv, 172. \$15.00.) These works are obviously dated in both their techniques and perspectives, but they contain the kind of background information and documentary excerpts that make possible more sophisticated historical analysis. Individuals currently intrigued by the occult and institutions supporting graduate work will want to obtain these volumes.

Wye Oak: The History of a Great Tree. By Dickson J. Preston. (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1972. Pp. vii, 136. \$3.50.) This very interesting paperback history of Maryland's most illustrious tree is another in a series of books about Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay printed by the Tidewater Publishers. The book contains an attractive "gallery of Wye Oak photographs" by A. Aubrey Bodine that alone is worth the price of the book. But there is much more. Dickson J. Preston has provided a fascinating account of the tree from the time the acorn fell about 1540 to the present. He tells in colorful prose the story of its first neighbors,

the Indians who lived nearby, and its various owners from the prominent Lloyd family to John E. Kinnamon, the last private owner, and finally to the years since the state took possession in 1939. Preston describes the incredible odds against a tree growing to maturity from an acorn and the more unbelievable odds against it surviving for hundreds of years. In the twentieth century many thought the Wye Oak's days were numbered because years of neglect and internal decay had taken their toll. After much prodding the state finally assumed financial responsibility for its proper care. Near disaster averted, the tree is in miraculously good health today, protected and well cared for at last for future generations of Marylanders to enjoy. This little book, which relates the history of the Wye Mills area as well as the tree, should be of interest to all who are fond of the Free State's heritage. [Nancy G. Boles]

One of the significant contributions to historical scholarship made by state historical societies and archives is the publication of documentary series. Readers of this *Magazine* will immediately think of the *Archives of Maryland*, volume 72 of which was recently published by the *Maryland Historical Society*. Because such valuable but unheralded projects are often unknown to the general reader, it is a pleasure to announce two recent volumes by sister institutions: *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Volume 1, *December 11, 1755–May 31, 1758*. Ed. S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1972. Pp. xliii, 421. \$12.00.), and *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*, Volume V, *1857–1863*. Ed. Max R. Williams and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (Raleigh: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 1973. Pp. xxiii, 591. \$15.00.) Bouquet was a brilliant and cultivated Swiss military officer who served in the Royal American Regiment. Greatly skilled in military strategy and leadership, he played a prominent role in the French and Indian War. The letters and documents here reproduced shed light not merely on military affairs but, because Bouquet was a cultured soldier, on the social and intellectual life of the backcountry. Graham was a distinguished politician from North Carolina. He served in the state legislature, was a Senator, governor of the state, Secretary of the Navy, and in 1852 was the Whig vice-presidential candidate. He was a learned and moderate Southerner who counseled against the extreme of secession. His correspondence in the eventful years 1857–1863 reveal much about the politics of the era, the Constitutional Union party, the North Carolina peace movement, and the vicissitudes of war. In addition the letters contain information on slavery, the University of North Carolina, the social and cultural life of the times, and plantation management. The papers of both Bouquet and Graham indicate vividly the value of documentary publication programs.

Southerners and Other Americans. By Grady McWhiney. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973. Pp. xi, 206. \$7.95.) The dust jacket of this book presumptuously claims that the author "rescues the South from the exaggerations and rationalizations that have for more than two centuries kept Southerners and 'other Americans' from understanding each other." Even within the genre of advertising puffery, this seems extravagant, for McWhiney addresses himself to few of the major interpretative problems of southern history and myth. Half of the twelve articles have been previously published—they are here reprinted but not updated—and few correct significant misconceptions. Above all he does not add much insight to the discussion—"one of the great myths of American history"—of whether North and South were essentially different civilizations on the eve of the Civil War. Despite the title, the book chiefly focuses on several aspects of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Readers seriously interested

in understanding the South in the broader context of American history still must look to W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*, (New York, 1941), *The Idea of the South*, ed. Frank E. Vandiver (Chicago, 1964), *The Southerner as American*, ed. Charles G. Sellers, Jr. (Chapel Hill, 1960), which contains McWhiney's best article, "Reconstruction and Americanism," and especially the unrivaled scholarship of C. Vann Woodward. Simply put, McWhiney's essays scarcely merit publication in book form.

Going to America. By Terry Coleman (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1973 [originally published in England as *Passage to America* by Hutchinson Publishing Group, Ltd., 1972]. Pp. xi, 345. \$2.50.) The author, a prominent English journalist, has produced a spirited social history of emigration from Great Britain and Ireland in 1846-55 to the United States and Canada. He portrays the people involved—their life in the United Kingdom, their image of the New World, why they emigrated, the terrible conditions aboard ship, and their situation upon arrival. He includes a chapter on the nativist movement in this nation. Coleman propounds no startling theses, develops no new interpretative themes, but does write colorful narrative history enlivened with ample quotes from contemporaries. It is a great human drama effectively told.

Women Who Spied for the Blue and the Gray. By Oscar A. Kinchen. (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1972. Pp. ix, 165. \$5.95.) There are twenty spy stories here. While some are mildly interesting, the repetitious incidents of daring turn quickly to stereotypes. In an introductory "chapter" (three and one-half pages), the author says that women had three types of advantage over men as spies: the use of romance as a lure, gallantry, and Victorian dress (for hiding notes). The book jacket asserts that "the fact that there were women in those days of the 'helpless female' who made real contributions to the war effort is an extremely timely issue." Actually, the book is more suitable for those with a mania for the Civil War than for those interested in women's history. Some generalizations about women's past experiences are reconfirmed, however, such as that women's work was usually expected to be of the charitable sort: as a rule even women spies did not get paid. (A strange thing is the author's failure to include Harriet Tubman.) [Fred M. Rivers]

Alvahn Holmes has written an interesting and factual story of the Farrar family, *The Farrar's Island Family and its English Ancestry*. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1973. Pp. 181. \$15.00. Available from the author at 5015 Boxhill Lane, Baltimore, 21210.) It is good to see her sources and verifications, particularly those from the York Herald of Arms in London, who reviewed the records and prepared a pedigree. Illustrations are plentiful, and there is a map of Farrar's Island on the James River. Besides the Farrar family, those of Kelke and Savile are studied in depth. This is an excellent model for other family historians. [P. W. Filby]

NOTES AND QUERIES

Philip Boileau, artist, was born in Quebec, Canada, in 1864 where his father, Baron Charles de Boileau, was French Consul General. His mother was Sarah Taylor Benton, daughter of Thomas Hart Benton, the first U. S. Senator of the State of Missouri. The name Thomas Hart Benton is well known in the field of art. Philip Boileau studied art in London and in Milan and after his studies in Italy, he commenced painting in the 1900's in this country. He died on January 18, 1917, at his home in New York City at age 53.

Boileau lived in Baltimore for a number of years and is reported to have been a founder of The Charcoal Club in that city. The Polk City Directory lists him as having a studio at 347 North Charles Street in the years 1900 and 1901. His specialty was his delineations of types of American girls. His painting, "Hydrangeas", a study of a girl holding these flowers was perhaps his most famous, and was often exhibited in Baltimore. Among other popular paintings are his portrait of Mrs. J. W. Biddle who at the time was Mrs. Douglas H. Gordon and a Miss Mary Vickery. His fashionable paintings have also been reproduced on postcards and reproduced prints of other paintings are still to be found.

The undersigned is interested in learning more about Philip Boileau and the present location of his paintings or reproductions.

John Suess
2 Letchworth Circle
Rockville, Md. 20850

Montgomery County Bicentennial History Project

Montgomery County Executive James Gleason and the County Council have commissioned the writing of a history of the county to be published in the county's bicentennial year of 1976. Dr. Richard K. MacMaster has been appointed director of the Bicentennial History Project, which includes the gathering of an archive of materials on Montgomery County history to be deposited in the Maryland Collection of the Rockville Public Library. Dr. MacMaster would be anxious to hear from anyone who might have information or documents, particularly letters or diaries, relating to Montgomery County history.

Fort Frederick, Maryland

The State of Maryland is preparing plans for the restoration of Fort Frederick which the colony built during the French and Indian War to defend its western frontier. In-

quiries to records repositories both in this country and abroad have not turned up original plans or satisfactory written descriptions of the fort's original appearance. Therefore the Maryland Park Service is seeking information about the fort (built 1756), particularly in regard to its eighteenth century appearance. Please write to Roos Kimmel, Historian, Maryland Park Service, Annapolis, Maryland 21404.

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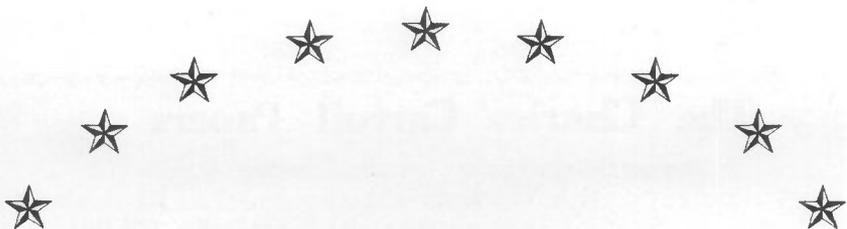
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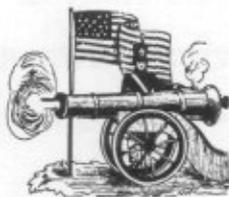
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